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THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES

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THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES

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SEMITIC

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VOLUME V

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INTRODUCTION

THE subject of this book offered such great difficulties in the vastness of its material, in its contents, time, and geographical extent, in its significance as the presentation of the mythology and religion of those cognate races, on whose soil arose three great religions of the world, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, that the author has been embarrassed by the difficulty of selecting what is strictly essential. Since the notable effort of W. Robertson Smith to compass in a single volume the religion of the Semitic races in his *Religion of the Semites* (1889, 1894, 1901), in which the most important of all Semitic races, the Accadian, was almost entirely neglected, and the equally valuable survey by M. P. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques* (1903, 1905), the material, especially in Cuneiform, South Arabian, and Phoenician, has increased to such extent that the whole subject appears in a new light. This book has been written almost entirely from the sources in the original languages, Sumerian, Accadian, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Himyaritic (South Arabic), and Arabic. In the case of the sources in the last two mentioned languages I have had from time to time the invaluable assistance of my colleague, Dr. D. S. Margoliouth, Laudian Professor of Arabic. On all important points the specialists are requested to refer to the notes; more especially have I felt bound to state in these the philological reasons for arguments and translations based upon Sumerian and Accadian texts. Here the new material is so important, and in some cases utilized for the first time, that the notes are necessarily numerous.

In the translation of Sumerian and Accadian texts a few peculiarities must be made clear to the general reader. Words in

italics indicate that the meaning of the corresponding words of the texts has not been fully established. It may appear inconsistent to find both "land" and "Land" in the translations; "Land" is employed only when the Sumerian *kalam-ma*, Accadian *mâtu*, refer to the "home-land," that is, Sumer, Accad, Babylonia, Assyria. In this book "Accadian" means the Semitic languages of Babylonia and Assyria, which are fundamentally identical. Sumerian is not a Semitic language, but no discussion of Semitic religion is possible without the Sumerian sources. This language belongs to the agglutinating group, and was spoken by the earliest inhabitants of Mesopotamia. They founded the great cities of that land, Opis, Sippar, Kish, Nippur, Erech, Ellasar, Shuruppak, Ur, Eridu, Lagash, etc., long before 4000 B.C., and formulated the religious system which the Accadians adopted. The date of the entry of the Semites into Mesopotamia is uncertain, and it is even debatable whether they are not as ancient in that land as the Sumerians themselves. The entire evidence of the very early inscriptions proves that the Sumerians not only invented the pictographic script, which they developed into the more easily written cuneiform script, but that they already had a very considerable literature, and a great pantheon, when the Semites learned to write, and adopted their religion and culture. The new material, now rapidly increasing for the study of the most remote period of writing, tends to confirm this view of the origin of Babylonian and Assyrian mythology and religion. In taking a general survey of the whole field of Semitic religion, over the wide territory of Western Asia, and through the four thousand years and more in which it ran its course, it is clear that it can be classified into two large groups. The religion and mythology of all those Semitic peoples, which, by accident of geographical contiguity and cultural influence, came into contact with the advanced and affluent civilization of Sumer and Accad, Babylonia and Assyria, became heavy borrowers from that source. Sumero-Babylonian cults established themselves in the very midst of

the old Canaanitish, Aramaean, Phoenician, Moabite, and Nabataean cults. The mythological conceptions of their own deities were assimilated to or transformed by the doctrines taught in the great temples of Sumer and Accad. Their legends and myths are almost entirely of Sumero-Babylonian origin. The cult of Tammuz, the lord of weeping and the resurrection, appears firmly established at Gebal on the shores of the Mediterranean at an early period. On the other hand there is only the religion of Arabia, which remained entirely outside the mission of the higher culture and theology of Sumer and Accad.

There are, then, only two great currents of mythology and religion in the Semitic lands — the Sumero-Babylonian of the east and north, and the Arabian of the south. In the great current of the northern stream are mingled many pure Semitic sources in the west. Some of their cults, notably that of Adad, actually influenced the mythology of Sumer and Accad. Of these two systems of mythology, the Sumero-Babylonian is infinitely more profound and elaborate. Here alone great mythological poems and epics were written, which attempted to grapple with the problems of life, the origin of the universe, the relation of the gods to men, the salvation of their souls.

In exposing the fundamental facts of the mythologies of the western group, the history of Hebrew religion is a unique element in the vast Semitic field. Although from the beginning and during its entire evolution the religion of this small Canaanitish people was constantly influenced by Babylonian mythology, they alone of all the western peoples seem to have understood the import of the profound problems conveyed in the guise of the legendary poems and epic verse of Babylonia and Assyria. Converted into their own magnificent Hebrew prose and poetry and in terms of their conception of deity, Sumero-Babylonian theology and mythology found there their greatest interpreter and means of transmission to the religions which became the heirs of the ancient Semitic world. And it

must be obvious to all unprejudiced minds, who have a clear view of the whole sphere of Semitic religions, that Hebrew religion stands entirely apart and reached a higher plane at the hands of " Jehovah's " prophets. The author was bound to confine himself strictly to mythology in this volume. In the prophetic works of the Hebrew sources much mythology survives, and use of it may lead to the inference that their place in the history of religions does not differ essentially from the great poets and teachers of Babylonia. This is clearly untrue. The evolution of Hebrew religion is unique in the history of the Semites.

Some of the views and arguments in this book undoubtedly invite criticism. The *quo warranto* for all statements has been defined in the notes and elucidated in the text. After long study of the Semitic and Sumerian sources I have become convinced that totemism and demonology have nothing to do with the origins of Sumerian or Semitic religions. The former cannot be proved at all; the latter is a secondary aspect of them. I may fail to carry conviction in concluding that, both in Sumerian and Semitic religions, monotheism preceded polytheism and belief in good and evil spirits. The evidence and reasons for this conclusion, so contrary to accepted and current views, have been set down with care and with the perception of adverse criticism. It is, I trust, the conclusion of knowledge and not of audacious preconception.

To the editor of this series, Canon John A. MacCulloch, I am indebted for his valuable proof-reading and assistance in editorial details. I feel that I have put upon him an unusual amount of labour in editing my manuscript, and I am grateful to him for his assistance. My friends, Père Scheil, Professor of Assyriology at the Sorbonne, Dr. F. Thureau-Dangin, Professor Zimmern of Leipzig, and many others have constantly kept me supplied with their books and articles before they were accessible in ordinary commerce. The works of these three brilliant scholars have been of special value in the elucidation of

cuneiform religious texts. Of particular value also have been the voluminous and excellent copies of Sumerian texts by Professor Chiera of Chicago, and the vast erudition of Professor Bruno Meissner of Berlin and Professor Arthur Ungnad of Breslau. The copies and interpretations of religious texts by Professor Erich Ebeling of Berlin and Dr. R. C. Thompson of Oxford reveal their great service in the preparation of this book by the numerous references to their copies in the notes. The numerous articles of René Dussaud cited there mark a distinct advance in the interpretation of the religion of the Aramaeans and Phoenicians. In my renewed study of the entire religious literature of Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria I have often had occasion to ask for collations of and information concerning tablets in the British Museum. Mr. C. J. Gadd, Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, has ever served me well with courtesy and accuracy. On matters involving special knowledge of Egypt, Professor F. Ll. Griffith and Dr. A. M. Blackman have supplied me with the necessary information.

A word to those who are not Semitic scholars should be added concerning the pronunciation of the name of the Hebrew deity Yāw. Phonetically this should have been written Yāu̯. The last letter is a semi-labial vowel and in my opinion no diphthongal sound should be inferred from the spelling adopted in this book. If the word be written *Yā-w*^{e}, the reader will obtain a pronunciation as accurate as a transcription can convey.

It is still impossible to utilize the newly found and recently deciphered Phoenician inscriptions, written in a cuneiform alphabet. Charles Virolleaud, who first published some of the tablets from Ras Shamra, near Minet-el-Beida in Syria, on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea (*Syria*, 1929, pp. 304–310), writes that he has now been able to study large mythological texts and that the language is classical Phoenician, of the fifteenth century B.C. It is obvious, therefore, that the early Phoenician religion will soon be better understood. None of

these tablets containing the names of the Phoenician deities has been published up to this date. The author must, therefore, give his signature to this book in the hope that the new revelation from Ras Shamra will support the views of the Phoenician pantheon set forth here, and confirm the place which he has assigned to it in the history of Semitic mythology.

S. LANGDON

Jesus College, Oxford
March 19, 1931

SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

STEPHEN HERBERT LANGDON
M.A.

SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION OF SEMITIC RACES, AND DEITIES

THE Semitic speaking peoples are divided geographically into the eastern, western, northern, and southern groups. Philologically these are known respectively as the Accadian, Canaanitish, Aramaean, and Arabic races. The Accadian or Mesopotamian branch possesses by far the oldest records of any Semitic language, and it is so called because the first purely Semitic line of kings reigned at Accad, a city near Sippar, between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, the modern ruins called ed-Deir.[1] As a geographical term, " Accad " designates the central part of the Mesopotamian Valley as far south as the great cities Kish and Babylon, a region first occupied by the Sumerians. Undoubtedly this part of Mesopotamia was known as Accad, before 2732 B.C., when Sargon the ancient founded the city Agade and the empire of the Accadians which comprised the whole of Western Asia.[2] It is difficult to fix an approximate date for the arrival of the Accadians in Mesopotamia. The Sumerians had founded cities all along the Euphrates and Tigris before 4000 B.C., and their earliest culture as revealed by excavations at Kish, Jemdet Nasr, Shuruppak, and Ur cannot be placed later than 5000 B.C. Among the kings who ruled in the first kingdom of the land at Kish, said to have been founded immediately after the Flood, there are seven Accadian names out of a total of twenty-three kings.[3]

This dynasty ruled approximately 3400–3170 B.C., hence it may be assumed that this Semitic race arrived among the Sumerians in the Kish area as early as the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. Linguistically the Accadian language is closely allied to Himyaritic, Sabaean, and Minaean or the South Arabian branch of the Semitic people, and the few Semitic deities which survived in the vast Sumerian pantheon adopted by the Accadians supports the inference drawn from comparative Semitic philology. Among the Semitic deities whose names survived, when the Accadians adopted the entire Sumerian pantheon, are Shamash the Sun-god and Ashdar the Mother-goddess, identified with the planet Venus.[4] Both of these deities are common to all early Semitic peoples, but Ashdar, as the word is first written on Sumerian monuments, is the only direct phonetic reproduction of the South Arabian 'Athtar, there the name of the planet Venus.

It must be admitted that, although the Semitic race can be traced to a period *circa* 3300 B.C. in Accad, only one Semitic name of a deity occurs on any of their monuments or in any Sumerian or Accadian inscription before the age of Dungi of Ur (2381–2326).[5] In fact Ašdar is the only Semitic divine name which occurs in the early period. The word for sun and the Sun-god is invariably written with the Sumerian ideogram for sun, *babbar*, *utu*, and even the Semitic name of the Sun-god does not appear before the first Babylonian dynasty.[6] The phonetic pronunciation of the name of the Sun-god among the Semites of Accad, when they first appear in history at least 2500 years before we have any Semitic inscriptions outside the Mesopotamian area, appears to have been *Sham-shu*, and although this word is pronounced *Shamsu* by the Minaeans and Sabaeans when their inscriptions begin, it must be assumed that *Shamsu* is an example of dissimilation in Arabic. The Accadian form is the one regularly employed in the Canaanitish and Aramaic inscriptions. The sporadic form *samsu* occurs toward the end of the first dynasty.[7]

Assuming that South Arabia is the original home of the Semitic peoples, the theory adopted by the writer of this volume, it follows from the evidence of Minaean, Sabaean, and Qatabanian inscriptions from Arabia Felix, modern Yemen, and Hadramut, that the three principal and perhaps the only deities originally worshipped by the Semites are the Sun, Venus, and the Moon, all astral deities.[8]

The sun and moon in South Arabia, whose monuments and inscriptions are dated from about the ninth to the second century B.C., are symbolically represented by a crescent and disk (Fig. 1). This is also the symbolism of these two deities, which constantly occurs in Sumero-Accadian symbolism (Fig. 2). This same symbolism occurs frequently on coins of the South Arabian people in Abyssinia, right down to the period in which they were converted to Christianity in the fourth century A.D. See Fig. 3. This is a copper coin and bears the Greek inscription *Ousannes Basileus Aksômitôn Bisi Tisēnē*, "Ousannes King of the Aksomites, of the tribe Tisene." The head is that of the king, on obverse with a crown, and on reverse without a crown.[9] It is, therefore, clear that the Semites who first appear in history so completely mingled with Sumerian culture, more than 2000 years before there is any inscriptional evidence about them elsewhere, were South Arabians. South

FIG. 1. SABAEAN ALTAR, SHEWING CRESCENT AND DISK

Arabian inscriptions have been found in Mesopotamia and at Koweit on the Arabian shore of the Persian gulf near the boundary of Iraq.[10] But the date of Himyaritic Minaean civilization in the Yemen cannot be reduced to a late period merely because their monuments do not begin before the first millen-

FIG. 2. ROLL LAPIS-LAZULI SEAL FROM SUSA

nium B.C. Their culture and religion are of hoary antiquity and clearly extended along the entire eastern Arabian sea-coast and the Persian Gulf. Magan and Meluhha of Sumerian geography lay on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, and Magan was almost certainly identical with the land of the Gerraei of the Greek geographers. It was then this Semitic people who entered Mesopotamia before 3000 B.C., from Magan and Arabia Felix, bringing with them the ancient Semitic deities of South Arabia. The names of the three principal deities were Shamshu, 'Athtar, and Shahar the Moon-god.

FIG. 3. COPPER COIN WITH CRESCENT AND DISK

In South Arabia the Sun-god is a female deity, and 'Athtar, or god of the planet Venus, is a male deity. But the Accadians, having identified these deities with the Sumerian Sun-god, Utu or Babbar of Ellasar and Sippar,

and with the Sumerian Innini, the Mother-goddess and the planet Venus, reversed the genders of these deities, a change which was latterly imposed upon the entire North and West Semitic religions. In South Arabian there are many names for the Moon-god, Shahar, the name common to all Arabic dialects, Warah, "the Wanderer," Kahil, "the Old One," Wadd, "the Loving," Ilmuqah, of unknown meaning; and he is frequently referred to as *ab*, "father," *'amm*, "ancestor," "uncle." [11] None of these names for the Moon-god survived in Accadian. According to D. Nielsen the South Arabian deity Ilâh, or Il, which is also the common Semitic word for "god," and corresponds to the Hebrew and Aramaic deity El, Elōhim, is one of the names of the Moon-god. The North Arabic al-ilah = Allah, who became the supreme and only god of Mohammedan religion, and El, Elōhim of the Northern Hebrew tribes who with Yāw, a deity of the Southern Hebrew tribes, became the supreme deity of Hebrew monotheism, would thus originally denote the ancient and prehistoric Moon-god. On this theory there will be more to say when the deities of the Canaanites are discussed.

In Accadian it is the Sumerian name of the Moon-god which is invariably used from first to last in their inscriptions, namely Zu-en, commonly pronounced Sin. There is no doubt at all concerning the Sumerian derivation of this name.[12] It occurs twice in a Himyaritic inscription written S-i-n, clearly the god Sin,[13] where it cannot possibly be an Arabic name, but an importation from Babylonian. Nabunidus, the last king of Babylon (555–538 B.C.), is known to have resided for some time at Teima in Arabia, north of El-'Olâ, where South Arabian inscriptions have been found, and it is certain that Babylonian influence pervaded the whole of South Arabia from a very early period.

If the name Sin [14] is the origin of the word Sînai, Mount Sinai, which occurs in early documents of the Hebrew Scriptures, not earlier than 1000 B.C., then this mountain range in

the extreme north-western part of Arabia and especially its principal mountain, Horeb, connected with the worship of the Hebrew gods Yāw and Elôhim, must have been an ancient North Arabian centre of Moon worship, and the name itself is taken from the Sumero-Babylonian Sin, after the name had been transmitted to Arabia, and replaced some older Arabic name for " moon " as the name of these mountains. In any case this Sumerian name of the Moon-god was known to the Hebrews; for it occurs in the names Shenazzar [15] (sixth century) and Shinab, king of Admah; and the Canaanitish cult of the moon was actually favoured by the kings of Judah before the reign of Josiah.[16] Job reflects the well-known Semitic sun and moon worship in his remonstrance against this pagan practice:

> " If seeing the sun when it shone,
> And the moon moving gloriously along,
> My heart was secretly enticed,
> And my hand kissed my mouth." [17]

It is, therefore, certain that Semitic religion in its most primitive form begins with three astral deities, Sun, Moon, and Venus, and that they came into contact with Sumerian civilization at such an early period that the real Semitic characteristics of these deities were totally transformed by the Sumerians. Sumerian religion is based upon a vast pantheon and is extremely polytheistic. It was completely adopted by the Accadians, and through the later Babylonian and Assyrian kingdoms this extreme type of polytheism, rich in mythology and theological speculation, influenced the religious beliefs of nearly every Semitic race in Western Asia. Semitic religion, pure and undefiled, must be sought in those impenetrable areas of Arabia, where the great light of Sumer and Accad did not shine, and in those stray references to the old Semitic cults which survived in Syria and Phoenicia and Canaan. In these latter lands, along the Mediterranean sea-coast, Egyptian influence must also be considered. But it was not important. When we come to deal with the mythology and theology of

the Northern and Western Semitic races, we shall see that Babylonia is the source from which they absorbed all their fundamental ideas, and this process began when the first South Arabian invasion of Sumer occurred and the first Semitic people learned the arts of civilization from the Sumerians of Mesopotamia.

Arabian religion has no mythology at all concerning the gods and goddesses of its pantheon. A few names of Arabic deities of pre-Islamic times have survived in the Coran of Mohammed, who founded a thorough monotheism on the deity Allāh, the old Ilāh, or title of the Moon-god Wadd, Shahar, Ilmuqah of the earlier pantheon.[18] It is an idea common to all primitive Semitic tribes that they descended from their patron deity, not in the sense that this deity was a deified man, or that he was a plant or animal (totemism), but in the sense that he was their divine creator.[19] The Minaeans described themselves as sons of Wadd, the Qatabanians as sons of 'Amm, and the Sabaeans as sons of Ilmuqah, all titles of the Moon-god. This idea of a god as father or ancestor of a tribe reveals itself in proper names over the whole Semitic area. In South Arabic Abikarib, "My father is gracious," is a very common personal name, in which *ab*, "father," refers to one of the deities, probably the Moon-god.[20] This fatherhood of god is particularly emphasized in early Accadian names, Abum-ilum, "god is father," Abu-ṭâb, "the father is good," ^{ilu} Sin-abu-šu, "Sin is his father."[21] The gods are also regarded as brothers and sisters of men. "Brother" and "sister" in personal names occur only in Accadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian, or in Semitic lands under Babylonian influence, and probably refer to Tammuz and his sister Ishtar, and may well be direct epithets of these two deities.[22] A name like Ahi-ṣaduq, on a seal of the Amoritic period,[23] meaning "My brother is righteous," undoubtedly describes a deity as "My brother." Ammi-ṣadugu, "My uncle is righteous," is an exact parallel.

The description of a deity as "brother" is not found in Arabic at any period. This mythological family relation of

god and man is common in Canaanitish, including Hebrew, and in the Aramaic group; in Accadian it appears in the earliest Semitic inscriptions.[24] Ahu-ṭâb, "the brother is good," on a monument of Manistusu of the 27th century B.C., is exactly parallel to Ahi-ṭûb, a common Hebrew name occurring not earlier than the eleventh century B.C. In early Accadian, Ahu-iṣṣap, "The brother increases," Ahu-ilum, "El is brother," Salim-ahu, "the brother is happy," Ili-ahi, "My god is my brother," Ahum-ilum, "El is a brother," clearly demonstrate that this idea was firmly rooted in the mythology of the Semites from prehistoric times.[25] Since they are in reality South Arabians, where Semitic religious ideas are retained in their most primitive forms, it is inexplicable that the "brotherhood of god" is not found there, or in the South Arabian kingdom of Abyssinia, or in any of the North Arabian centres to which Minaean-Sabaean culture spread, as at al 'Olā (in Minaean and Lihyanian inscriptions) or in the Hauran (in Ṣafaitic inscriptions).[26] In Hebrew Ahi-yah, "My brother is Yah," reveals this mythological relation between Yāw, the tribal god of the Hebrews, and his people, as does also Ahimelek, where *melek* is either a title of Yāw, or the name of an old Canaanitish deity. This idea is particularly prominent in Hebrew. Ahi-ezer "My brother is help," Ahi-qâm, in Assyrian Ahiya-qâmu,[27] "My brother is risen"; Ahi-râm, in Assyrian Ahi-râmu, "My brother is supreme,"[28] and in Ahirâm, king of Gebal, early Phoenician, *circa* 900 B.C.[29] Its occurrence at Gebal, centre of the West Semitic cult of Adonis and Astarte, i.e., of Tammuz and Ishtar, taken in connection with the almost complete absence of the "brotherhood of god" in Arabian religion where Babylonian religion had little influence, would support the theory that "brother," when applied to deities like Yāw, Melek, and Adonis, actually refers to these deities as the dying and resurrected god, brother of the Earth-goddess Astarte, Ishtar. Names like Ahu-bani, which occurs in Babylonian not earlier than the Cassite period, compared with

Sin-bani, "Sin is creator," Marduk-bani, Enlil-bani, Shamash-bani, clearly prove that, even in Assyria and Babylonian, "brother" is a title of any god and cannot refer to Tammuz or Adonis, as it invariably does in Sumerian.

It must be admitted that any Semitic deity could be addressed as the "brother" of the worshippers, in the same way as he was called *ab*, "father," or *ʿammu* "uncle," "ancestor;" [30] and unless the "brotherhood" title can be attributed to the Tammuz-Ishtar myth, it is difficult to explain this aspect of Semitic mythology, in which the gods as "brothers" appear as creators of their people.[31] The view of most Semitic scholars, who follow W. R. Smith, is that the early Semites actually regarded themselves as related to deified persons, or in the final instance to animals or plants from which the various Semitic tribes supposed themselves descended. On this view totemism is the original religion of the Semitic races, and the principal argument used to support this theory is the widespread primitive Semitic custom of naming men and women from animals, trees, and plants. In early Accadian Shêlibum, "fox," is a very common personal name,[32] which occurs in all periods of later Babylonian and Assyrian history; Shaʿalbîm is the name of a Canaanitish town,[33] and Shūʿal, "fox," is a good Hebrew name. Bugakum, for Buqaqum, in early Accadian, probably means "flea," and occurs as Baqqu in Babylonian. Burašu, "the pine-tree," is a name occurring frequently in late Babylonian. Zumbu "the fly," Zumbâ (hypocoristic), Hahhuru, "raven," [34] Suluppâ, "date-fruit" (hypocoristic), occur in late Babylonian and Assyrian. Totemism is also argued from the reference to baetylia and wooden pillars in Jeremiah ii. 27, where the worshippers of the Canaanitish Baalim say to the "tree," i.e. wooden pillar, "thou art my father," and to the "stone," "thou hast begotten me." Here the *ashēra*, or wooden pillar, and the baetyl are, however, only symbols of deities. (See below under baetylia). The word *ṣôr*, "rock," is apparently a title both of the Hebrew god Yāw and of an Aramaic deity.[35]

In Mesopotamian Semitic names this aspect of nomenclature is, therefore, extremely rare, and almost absent in the early period. There is here a tendency to increase the use of animal names, and in a period of such advanced culture as the Neo-Babylonian, there is no question about primitive totemistic ideas being present. It is impossible to study primitive Bedouin culture even in the very earliest Accadian, before 3000 B.C., and Sumerian civilization had attained an advanced stage of culture before 4000 B.C. But the history of animal and plant names among the Semites in Mesopotamia proves that persons were called after plants and animals because of some striking characteristics of the persons so named.[36]

Animal names are far more common in Canaanite Hebrew, and Arabic; in Hebrew they occur chiefly as tribal or city names, and belong entirely to the period before the Exile, Deborāh, "the bee," Ze'eb (a Midianite), "the wolf," a name extremely common in Arabic of all periods,[37] Khāgāb, Khăgabāh, "the locust," a family name of the Nethinim. In view of these facts, G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 99–108, concluded that primitive Semitic religion, or in any case Canaanitish religion, began with totemism. If this were true of Semitic religions we are bound to start with totemistic mythology. The Semitic deities would be by origin animals or plants from which the far-flung Semitic tribes, clans, and races are sprung. The next stage would be that in which these deities are spoken of as "father," "brother," "ancestor," or "uncle" (*'amm*, *ḫâlu*), that is as divine and also natural relatives of a clan. The argument, so far as animal names of clans and persons go, seems to be disproved by the history of this custom in Accadian-Babylonian and in Arabian religions. In South Arabia, which affords the oldest inscriptions of Arabic, this custom is rare, but it increases and becomes prolific in late pre-Islamic times, and this is also true of Babylonia. Although the South Arabians and the Accadians are far advanced beyond the primitive

Bedouin stage in the periods when their inscriptions begin, their history shows that it is characteristic of the Semites to use animal names in times of advanced culture, when there is no possible influence of primitive totemism. I, therefore, reject the totemistic theory absolutely. Early Canaanitish and Hebrew religions are far beyond primitive totemism (if it ever existed among them) in the period when any definite information can be obtained about them, and the prevalence of animal names in early Hebrew history is probably due to a peculiar inclination of this Semitic race.

All Semitic tribes appear to have started with a single tribal deity whom they regard as the divine creator of his people, and this deity seems to have been astral, the sun, or the moon, or the planet Venus. The South Arabians of Aksum in Abyssinia speak of their gods 'Astar (= Athtar = Venus), Medr or Behr (Earth-god),[38] and Mehrem, as "they who begat them."[39] The Moabites, a Canaanitish tribe, are called "the people of Kemosh; he (Kemosh) gave his sons as fugitives and his daughters into captivity."[40] Here Kemosh is described as father of the Moabites. Moses is commanded by Yāw to say to Pharoah, "Israel is my son, my first-born,"[41] and the old Hebrew song says of Yāw:

> "Is not He thy father, who produced thee?
> Did He not make thee and establish thee?"[42]

The same song speaks of Yāw as a "rock" that begat Israel and as "El who travailed with thee," as a woman at child birth.[43] "I am a father to Israel and Ephraim is my first-born," writes Jeremiah, describing Yāw's relation to the Hebrews, and Ephraim is called the son of Yāw.[44]

To complete the evidence for this Semitic mythological concept of the fatherhood of god, the following names from various religions are selected. A king of Tyre (Phoenician) in the fourteenth century B.C. is called Abi-milki, "My father is my king." Here "father" stands for the god of Tyre, Melqart,

whose name is explained by the Greeks as "Heracles the primeval father." [45] In Accadian, we have Pir'-Shamash, "the offspring of Shamash," Ashur-bān-apli, "Ashur is the creator of the son"; Apil-ili-shu, "son of his god" [46]; in Aramaic, Bir-Atar, "Son of Atar" [47]; Bar-Rakib, "Son of Rakib," a king of Ya'di; Bar-'Atā, "son of Ata"; Bath-'Atā, "Daughter of Atā." [48] More difficult to verify by clear evidence is the parallel conception, "the motherhood" of Semitic goddesses, and consequently the title "sister" applied to them, corresponding to the title "brother" of male deities. In Accadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian religion, the virgin Earth-mother goddesses, Innini-Ishtar, Nintud, Aruru, Ninhursag, Ninlil, are all Sumerian, and borrowed by the Semites in prehistoric times. In Sumerian mythology the creatress of mankind is this Earth-mother goddess, and the "motherhood of the goddess" forms the basis of an entire school of theology at Nippur, distinguished from the school of theology at Eridu. At Nippur it is the Earth-goddess Aruru or Mami who is said to have created man from clay, a legend which will be discussed in its proper place. This legend of the creation of man from clay is of Sumerian origin, although the legend is preserved in Accadian texts only.[49] In Sumerian legend the Earth-god Enlil is the brother of the virgin Earth-mother Aruru,[50] and when in Babylonian and West Semitic religion a god is described as "brother," it is extremely probable that the great Earth-god (who is also a Sun-god) of Sumer or a West Semitic deity, who has borrowed this aspect of Sumerian mythology, is meant.

The Sumerian Earth-mother is repeatedly referred to in Sumerian and Babylonian names as the mother of mankind — Ninmar-ama-dīm, "Ninmar [51] is a creating mother"; Ama-numun-zid, "the mother legitimate seed (has given)"; Bau-ama-mu, "Bau is my mother." This mythological doctrine is thoroughly accepted in Babylonian religion. A poem has the line: "All creatures with the breath of life are the handiwork

of Aruru," [52] and a prayer begins: " O Gula, the mother, bearer of the dark-headed people." [53] In early Accadian, this mythology is already firmly established among the Semites, although it does not appear to belong to their primitive religion. Ummi-ṭâbat, " My mother is good "; Ašdar-ummi, " Ishtar is my mother "; the latter name is common in Babylonia. Ummu-ṭâbat, " the mother is good," occurs in the fifth century in Babylonia. Bêlit-umma-nu, " Beltis is our mother," has the same meaning as " Ṣarpanit is our mother." Ištar-ummi-šarri-ni, " Ishtar is the mother of our king "; Mannu-ki-ummi, " Who is like the mother? " Although the Babylonian feminine participle *mu'allittu*, " the bearer," is not found yet in any text,[54] but only the form *alittu* (construct *ālidat*), it is extremely probable that this title of the Babylonian Earth-goddess, chiefly known in the West as Ashtoreth, is the original of Mylitta,[55] a name used by the Assyrians for Aphrodite.

In West Semitic this mythology is apparently almost unknown. In Canaanitish there is only the Phoenician name 'Am-'Ashtart, " the mother is Ashtoreth." [56] In Hebrew there is no evidence at all.[57] But names of deities in Phoenicia like Melk-'Ashtart, at Hammon near Tyre, Eshmun-'Ashtart at Carthage, 'Ashtar-Kemosh, of the Moabites, clearly prove that the Mother-goddess of the West Semitic races held even a greater place in their religion than the local gods of their most important cults. These names are taken to be construct formations by W. W. Baudissin (*Adonis und Esmun*, pp. 264–266) and explained as " Melk of the temple of Astarte," i.e., the Tyrian god Melquart worshipped in Astarte's temple. Ashtar-Kemosh would be Astarte worshipped in the temple of Kemosh.[58] Now these great Canaanitish gods, Eshmun, Kemosh, Melqart, and Adon of Gebal, are sometimes regarded as the husbands, sometimes as the sons, sometimes as the brothers of the Earth-goddess Astarte, as we know from Sumerian and Babylonian religion. In the West Semitic sources the title " sister " for this goddess cannot be defended except by infer-

ence from the widespread title of the gods as "brother," and the title is undoubtedly based upon this Semitic mythology. The Earth-goddess, Astarte, who is by name the South Arabian male deity Athtar and there the planet Venus, is emphatically a Babylonian deity in North and West Semitic religions. The entire mythology of Astarte goes back to the Sumerian Ininni = Ashdar = Ishtar, goddess of Venus and mother, wife, and lover of the Sumerian dying god Tammuz. This is inextricably united with the other fundamental Sumerian mythological concept of the Earth-god Enlil, father of mankind, and his sister the Earth-goddess Aruru, Gula, Bau, Ninhursag, Nintud, commonly called in Babylonia Bêlit-ilāni, "Queen of the gods." In certain cults she is also the wife of the Earth-god, as Ninlil, wife of Enlil, at Nippur, or Bau, wife of Ningirsu, son of Enlil, at Lagash, or of Zamama, son of Enlil, at Kish. In South Arabia the male deity 'Athtar is the planet Venus, and has no inherent connection at all with the philologically identical feminine name 'Ashtart of the Canaanites. The West Semitic Earth-goddess, sister of all Canaanite deities, El, Melqart, Eshmun, Yāw, Kemosh, is called Ashtar (Moabite), or 'Ashtart, because the Semitic race with their male Venus came into contact with the Sumerian people, who worshipped the female Innini, a Mother-goddess and the planet Venus, at the dawn of history. 'Athtar becomes now Ashdar and Ishtar in Babylonia, and a Mother-goddess. In the West the old Semitic deity 'Ashtar is turned into a feminine form, 'Ashtart, to conform to the Babylonian mythology, which undoubtedly suppressed primitive Semitic religious ideas among the Aramaic and Canaanitish peoples. The word was pronounced 'Ashtōreth by the later Hebrews, when the monotheistic teaching of Moses and the prophets prevailed. This is only an attempt to cast ridicule upon the name of the Mother-goddess of earlier polytheism by reading the consonants *'-š-t-r-t* of her name with vowels of the Hebrew word for "abomination," "shame," *bosheth.* In Western Semitic

religions 'Ashtart represents the Sumero-Babylonian Mother-goddess, Gula, Bau, Aruru, etc., rather than Innini-Ninsianna-Ishtar, who is both Venus and the Mother-goddess. In Canaanitish religion 'Ashtart is not the planet Venus. That is clear by the Greek identifications of this goddess with Gê, " the earth," sister of Uranus, in Sanchounyathōn, and the regular identification of Astarte with Aphrodite, who is never identified with the planet Venus.

In South Arabian religion the Mother-goddess is the Sun-goddess, and there is no mythology there in which she is the sister of a deity, or evidence that any Arabian deity is her brother. In North Arabic religion, as represented on the Ṣafaite inscriptions of Hauran, the Mother-goddess is Ilāt, Allāt, Hallāt.[59] Since Herodotus in his History says that the Arabian Aphrodite was named 'Alilat [60] and 'Alitta, and Alitta is the Babylonian title of the Mother-goddess (Alittu), it is clear that, even in North Arabia, Babylonian mythology is the determining element also.[61] Since Ilāt of South Arabia is the Sun-goddess, and probably also among the Thamudic Lihyanians at al-'Ola, who are only Northern Minaeans, naturally Ilāt survives in Islamic tradition as a Sun-goddess.[62] But in North Arabia Ilāt, " the goddess," has been subjected to Babylonian influences as was Ashtart of the Canaanites. Here *the* goddess is the Earth-mother, and when we are dealing with North Arabian religion, the great sphere of Babylonian mythology and theology has been entered.[63] In fact there are only two large groups of Semitic religions; on the one hand there is the Minaean-Sabaean Qatabanian, including Abyssinia and the Thamudic-Minaean religion; on the other hand there is the Babylonian-Assyrian religion of Mesopotamia, which from prehistoric times moulded the mythological and theological concepts of all Semitic races of the Northern and Western Semitic areas, in Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Trans-Jordania.

Babylonian influence becomes particularly prominent in the great Nabataean kingdom whose principal capitals were Petra

and Damascus, and whose history can be traced from their first mention by Ashurbanipal [64] in the middle of the seventh century B.C., to their absorption into the Roman Empire in 106 A.D. They were a North Arabic race who used the Aramaic script, and their principal male deity is Dušurā, rendered into Greek as Dousares, and identified by the Greeks with Dionysus.[65] The name means "he of Shara" (*dhu Šarā*), i.e., "he of the mountain range *esh-sharā*," at Petra,[66] and he is a Sun-god according to Strabo.[67] Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, writing in the fourth century, preserves the only illuminating information about the mythology of this great cult of the Nabataeans. As he was born and educated in Palestine, and served in a monastic order there, his statement must be taken authoritatively. He says that the Nabataeans praised the virgin whose Arabic name is Χααβοῦ.[68] In Nabataean the Arabic nominative ending in *u* is regularly preserved in proper names, and Epiphanius undoubtedly heard the word *ka'bu*, "square stone," symbol in Nabataean religion for both Dusares and the great Mother-goddess Allat of the Nabataeans. An Arabic writer [69] says that a four-sided stone was worshipped as Allat, who in a Nabataean inscription was called "Mother of the gods." [70] On Fig. 4 is seen the reverse of a copper coin of the Roman emperor Trajan Decius, struck at Bostra, shewing the sacred baetyl or stone pillar of Dusares, bearing the inscription *actia dusaria*, "the Dusarean games." [71] Suidas, the Greek lexicographer, under the word θευσάρης, says that the object of Dusares' worship was a black stone, four feet high and two feet wide, standing on a base of gold. Moreover Epiphanius states that Dusares was the offspring of the virgin Chaabou and only son of the "lord" (δεσπότου).[72] The panegyrarchs of Nabataean cities came to Petra to assist in the festival of his birth, which was celebrated on the twenty-fifth of December.[73]

FIG. 4. COPPER COIN SHEWING SACRED BAETYL

Worship of a dying god, son of the Earth-mother, was the principal cult of this North Arabian people during the period immediately before and after the life of Jesus of Nazareth in Palestine. The title of the Mother-goddess Allat is "Mother of the gods" here, and a translation of the title of the great Mother-goddess of Babylonia, *bêlet ilāni*, "queen of the gods," whose title in Sumerian is also "goddess Mother."[74] Dusares and Allat of the Nabataeans are an Arabian reflex of the great Babylonian myth of Tammuz and Ishtar, and if the god is identified with Dionysus, the original character common to both is that of a Sun-god and patron of fertility. Strabo describes the Nabataeans as a particularly abstemious people; the Greeks and Romans called Dusares the Arabian Dionysus or Bacchus;[75] and a statue of him found in the Hauran (see Fig. 5) portrays him as a deity of the vine. The cornucopia and patera are also characteristic of Dusares on coins of Nabataean cities.[76] As an Arabian

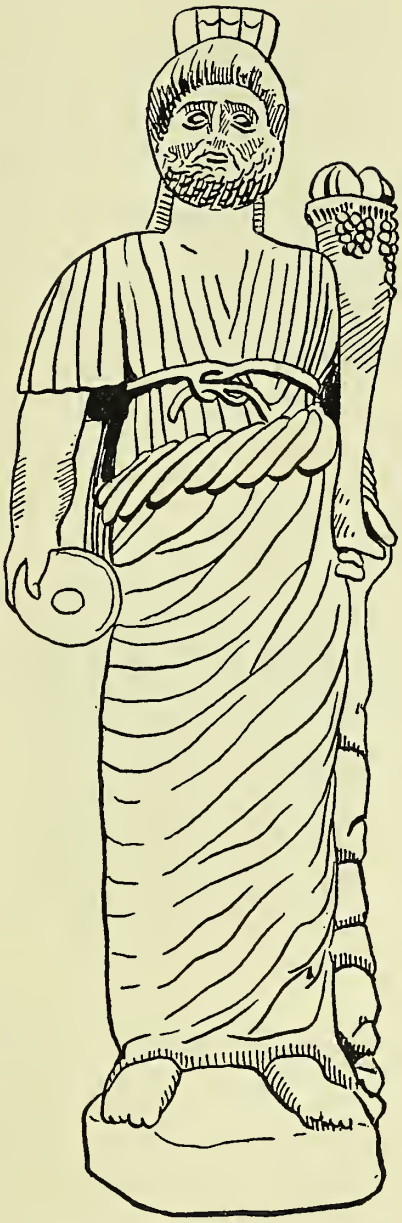

FIG. 5. BASALT STATUE OF DUSARES, PATRON OF THE VINE. FROM THE HAURAN

Bacchus, Dusares is a Greek and Roman deity; as a god of Fertility, represented by a baetyl, he is a local Arabic Earth and Sun deity; and, as son of the virgin Earth-goddess, he is a Babylonian deity. The celebration of his birth in December at Petra and the northern cities of Bostra and Adraa in the Hauran with games and festivities is a replica of the spring festivities at Babylon, when the death, burial, and resurrection of Marduk were celebrated with weeping, which was exchanged for rejoicing.[77] The meaning of the *actia dusaria* at Petra may be inferred from the similar festival at Alexandria in Egypt, there called after an unexplained Egyptian word Kikēllia, or in Greek the Cronia, which also occurred by night on the twenty-fifth of December. In this festival an image of a babe was taken from the temple sanctuary and greeted with loud acclamation by the worshippers, saying, "the Virgin has begotten." On the night of the fifth of December occurred a festival before the image of Corē; it ended with bringing forth from beneath the earth the image of Aiōn,[78] which was carried seven times around the inner sanctuary of Corē's temple. The image was then returned to its place below the surface of the earth. Epiphanius, in whose writings this Egyptian cult is described, identifies the virgin mother of this myth with the Greek Under-world goddess Corē, as he does the virgin mother of Dusares, Chaabu of the Nabataeans. There is a wide

Fig. 6. Tyché of Antioch

syncretism here in this Arabic religion, composed of Babylonian, Greek, and Egyptian elements; and beyond all doubt the Nabataeans possessed an elaborate cult of Tammuz and Ishtar, of Osiris and Isis, of Dionysus and Basilinna, the equivalent of Proserpine-Corē, in which this deity was represented as a youth, son of the Mother-goddess, who was reborn yearly in midwinter and who died in the summer.[79]

FIG. 7. NABATAEAN COIN. TYCHĒ OF DAMASCUS. ARETAS III

The Mother-goddess of the Nabataeans, Allat, identified with Corē by the Greeks, is essentially the North Semitic Ashtart, and the Babylonian Ishtar. But she was also identified with the Greek Tychē, and more especially with Tychē of Antioch, whose representation on coins throughout the Nabataean kingdom is taken from the beautiful creation of the sculptor Eutychides (see Fig. 6).[80] Characteristic of this type of the Mother-goddess as Fortuna or, more properly, goddess of fate, is the mural crown and cornucopia.

FIG. 8. HEAD OF TYCHĒ. PHILADELPHIA. MARCUS AURELIUS

The statue of Tychē of Antioch represents her seated on a rock, and from the rock at her feet springs a youth, symbol of the river Orontes at Antioch. Fig. 7 shews the Tychē of Damascus, seated on a rock, from which the River-god springs at her feet; she wears the turreted mural crown, and holds a cornucopia. Copper coins bearing the figure of the Arabian Fortuna are found at Adraa, Bostra, Esbus (Heshbōn), Gerasa, Medaba, Philadelphia (ʿAmmān), and Petra. The same type is found on coins of the great Arabian city Carrhae of the Romans, Harran of the Babylonians and Assyrians;[81] at Singara,[82] and at Ephesus.[83] Apparently the chief goddess of any Semitic city was known

as "Tychē of the city,"[84] from the period of Alexander the Great.

Allat of Petra and throughout the Nabataean kingdom thus becomes the Fortuna or defender of her cities, and the mural crown represents the turreted walls of her holy places.[85] At the entrance to Petra stand the imposing ruins of a temple of the Tychē of this city, and in a niche over the portico is a statue of Allat figured as the guardian Fortuna of her city.[86] Tychē of Palmyra is Atargatis,[87] the great Mother-goddess of that city, represented on the mural paintings of Doura on the Euphrates with mural crown; here the genius of the holy fountain, Ephka, of Palmyra, appears as a nude maiden springing from the rock on which the Mother-goddess sits; beside her in the same pose sits the Mother-goddess of Doura, Τύχη Δούρας. The genius of the Euphrates, who springs from the rock on which she sits, is here a bearded man. In most of the ubiquitous representations of this Semitic City-goddess, she bears the cornucopia, symbol of abundance, a purely Greek conception, as on the statue of Tychē of Doura.[88] The Mother-goddess of Doura bears the Babylonian name Nanā,[89] type of Ishtar; [90] at Doura and throughout Western Asia she is habitually identified with Artemis. Nanā is also a virgin goddess like Artemis and specially connected with the cult of Nebo at Barsippa. Although the representations of this type of Mother-goddess in Semitic cities of North Arabia and Syria in the Greek and Roman periods have been preserved only under the influence of Greek art, the goddess of Fate, especially as protectress of cities, is surely of Semitic origin. The Nabataean goddess Manawātu,[91] plural of the form Manât,[92] which occurs in Thamudic, i.e., before the Nabataean period, consequently belongs to the old South Arabian pantheon. The Coran writes the name Manâtun; and *manijjat*, plural *manāja*, is an ordinary Arabic word for "fate," "death." Also *zawwa-al-manijjat*, "the shears of fate,"[93] supports the evidence from early Arabic and Nabataean inscriptions for assuming that the Arabian Mother-goddess [94] was

a goddess who fixed the fates of mankind, of cities, and of nations. A goddess of Fate, whose name is based upon the verb *m-n-w*, or *m-n-j*, can be traced throughout Semitic mythology. She appears in Hebrew as Menî in the post-exilic accusation of Deutero-Isaiah:

"As for you who abandon Yāw, forgetful of my holy mount;
Preparing for Gad [95] a table, and filling for Menî spiced wine." [96]

Etymologically, the form Menî is masculine, but the deity is a goddess and belongs also to the Assyrian pantheon, where Ishtar has the titles "goddess Minû-anni," "Minû-ullu," she who "apportions unto men sanction or denial." [97] A hymn whose original belongs to the literature of early Babylonia, glorifies Ishtar in the following lines:

"Mistress of habitations, lover of peoples, twin sister of [Shamash],

. . . . . .

(Goddess) Minû-anni, the passionate, the perfect,
(Goddess) Minû-ulla, the lofty, arrayed in glory." [98]

In Babylonia Ishtar, identical with Canaanite Ashtoreth, became the goddess of Fate, of good and adverse Fortune, and at an early period.[99] Moreover, in this aspect of Babylonian and Assyrian mythology, she is here described as protectress of habitations, precisely the character of the ubiquitous Tychē with the mural crown in Nabataean, Aramaic, and Asiatic Greek religious art. Manât is known to have been worshipped throughout South Arabia from the early period, especially by the tribes Aus and Chazrag, and her principal cult was at Qudaid between Mecca and Medina. According to Arabian tradition, she was represented by a rectangular stone there, and Mohammed found her cult most difficult to suppress even at Mecca itself.[100]

In Assyria, at least after the ninth century B.C., and in Babylonia, perhaps from the early period, Ishtar was regarded as the goddess of Fate, under the title Shimti, a word for "fate" peculiar to the Accadian language.[101] All Mother-goddesses in

Babylonian religion appear in this *rôle* as Moira, and Bau is addressed, "Fate of kings,[102] Lady of Adab." And the seven Mother-goddesses of Nippur, Babylon, Barsippa, Der, Uruk, Agade, and Hursagkalamma are described as "the goddesses, the Fates,"[103] whereby the "Seven Fates" correspond to the three Moirae of Greece. The *pluralis majestatis šîmāti*, "fates," is repeatedly employed for the goddess Fate, as well as for the various Fate-goddesses.[104] This title of Fate, Fortuna, Tychē, is not only the prototype of the North Arabian, Aramaic, and Canaanite goddess of Fate, but the names Meni and Shimti were widely employed in those regions. Sîmî is called the daughter of Hadad in Syriac, and Juno-Sima, daughter of Balmarcod, occurs in a bilingual Greek and Latin inscription[105] from Deir-el-Qal'a near Beyrout, where there was a temple of the god Balmarcod.[106] The dedication is to Balmarcod, Hēra, and Sima.[107] Martialis, a Roman governor, built a temple to κυρια Σημεα, according to an inscription found near Homs (Emesa),[108] and at Homs has been found a fine bas-relief with three deities; in the centre, between two gods, stands the veiled figure of the goddess Seimia, identified with Athena. Near and behind her head is the star of the Babylonian Ishtar in a circle.[109] Proper names in the Roman period are Abedsimioi, "Servant of Sîmi," Amassēmia (Arabic in Hauran), Sumaios (Nabataean). The name survives to modern times in the Arabic names of villages in Syria — Kafar-Shîma, Bet-Shâma, and Shâmat.[110]

A Syrian deity Ashîma was imported into Samaria in 722 B.C., from Hamath on the Orontes, and there seems to be no doubt concerning her identity with the Assyrian Shîmti,[111] in view of the father-mother deity Ashim-Bêthêl, worshipped by the Aramaic speaking Jews in Southern Egypt in the fifth century B.C., who appears as Symbêtylos in a Greek inscription from Northern Syria.[112]

The goddess of Fate belongs, therefore, to the mythology of all Semitic races, and personifies the fatalism so characteristic

of them in their religions. The northern and western type is influenced by the Assyrian Meni, Shimti; the widely spread representation of Tychē in Syria and Arabia (see Figs. 6–8) preserves the mural crown of the Assyrian Shîmti (see Fig. 9). This representation of Ishtar with the mural crown, preserves

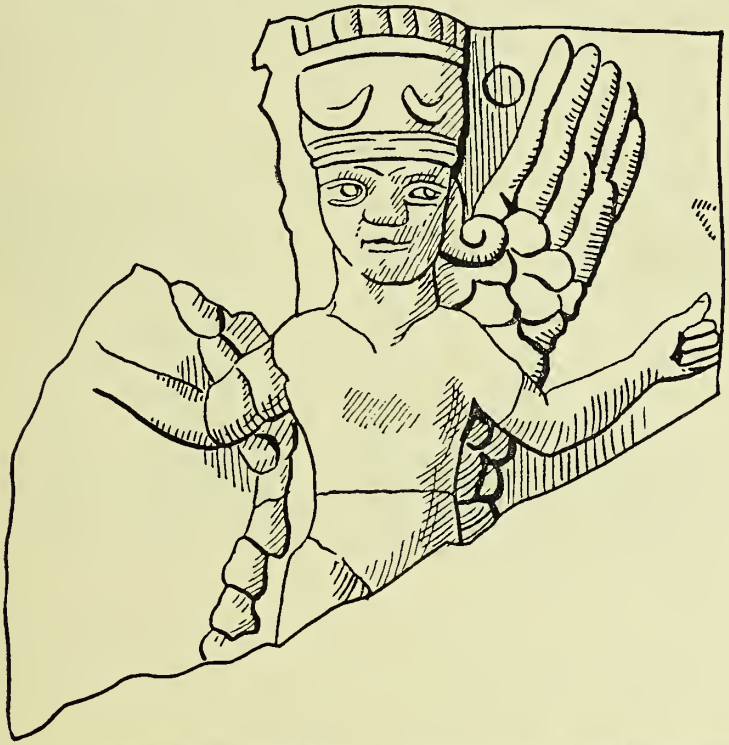

Fig. 9. The Assyrian Tychē with Mural Crown. Bas-relief from Nimrud

an attribute which connects this type with the Ishtar of battle.[113] Logical is the identification with Athena, goddess of battle, protectress of the state and defender of kings.

All these names of Fate in the Aramaic-Canaanite languages are of Babylonian origin. The indigenous deity is the god Gad, who is a god of Fate, of Good Fortune, derived from the common Semitic verb *gadad*, "to cut off." His worship by the Hebrews has been mentioned above.[114] A similar deity

of the Arabians was Sa'd, worshipped as a stone (baetyl) at Gudda,[115] and another Arabian deity of the same character is found in the title of the Mother-goddess Allat, Ruṣā, "good fortune." This Arabian goddess was widely worshipped among the Sabaean-Himyaritic tribes of Hauran in Syria, and among the Aramaeans of Syria. At Palmyra her name appears as Arṣā, and is there used for Venus as the evening star.[116] This widely spread Semitic myth of a goddess of Fate, which is only a special aspect of the Mother-goddess, is certainly based upon

FIG. 10. VENUS AS GODDESS OF WAR, WITH STAR SYMBOL. ASSYRIAN SEAL

astrology and the planet Venus. The Arabian Allat,[117] Ruṣā, Arṣā, became a goddess of Fortune by assimilation to the Babylonian Ishtar, identified with Venus, the Sumerian Ninsianna, Innini. Venus is both morning and evening star, Phosphorus and Hesperus, and various titles of the Arabian Allat, such as Sa'd and 'Uzzā, have dual forms, Sa'dān,[118] 'Uzzā, "the two planets Venus." In Babylonia the morning star is called the "male Venus," and the evening star the "female Venus."[119] But in both aspects Ishtar is always a goddess in Babylonian mythology. She is sometimes described by "Ishtar of Agade" as morning star, and "Ishtar of Erech" as evening star.[120] A long metrical poem describes Ishtar:[121]

"At sunrise she is mistress (*bêlit*), at sunset she is votaress."

Mythology set in here at an early period and determined Ishtar, and consequently the western goddesses Astarte, Allat, as a double character. As morning star she is goddess of War (in the West 'Anat),[122] and as evening star patroness of love and harlotry.[123] For this reason the western goddesses of Fate were worshipped on house-tops, where baked cakes were offered to them, an obviously astral cult, and it could be served by women only. So important did the favour of the goddess of this lucky planet seem to the Arabians and Aramaeans that they frequently made human sacrifices to her. Particularly beautiful are the Sumerian and Babylonian hymns addressed to the "Queen of Heaven," and although none of this religious literature of the cult of Allat, Astarte, Ruṣa, and Tychē has survived in Aramaic, North Arabian, Canaanitish, and Hebrew, it is certain that noble songs of this kind were sung by them to the goddess of the morning and evening star.

"To the pure flame that fills the heavens,
To the light of Heaven, Ishtar, who shines like the sun,
To the mighty Queen of Heaven, Ishtar, I address greeting

. . . . . .

That she fix the fate of the lands.
May she rise faithfully at dawn of day,
May she fulfil the decrees (of fate) at the dark of the moon." [124]

These hymns to the planet of fate and war were accompanied by offerings of wine, roasted cakes, and incense.[125] The cult of the "Queen of Heaven" was widely spread in Canaan and observed by the Hebrews also. Jeremiah censured this idolatry in two famous passages.

"The women knead dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven." [126]

And the Hebrews themselves admitted to the great prophet that they and their fathers, their kings and princes, had always burnt incense to the "Queen of Heaven" and poured out drink offerings to her in the cities of Judah.[127]

As morning star Ishtar and Astarte are the War-goddess in Babylonia and among all West Semitic people, where she has the special name 'Anat. This myth is of Sumerian origin.

"The long bow, mighty of battle she holds in her hand.
With her left arm she lays low (the foe).
The queen of battle, the loud crying, utters a cry of wailing."

So runs an ancient Sumerian hymn, and Hammurabi,[128] the famous king of Babylon, composed a long mythical poem in Semitic verse concerning her. So terrible was her love of war that her patron deity Ea became enraged against her.

"She descended, she mounted on high,
While raged the roar of her voice.
At the reins she stood not,[129]
But went forth in her might.
Her protector trembled in terror,
The god Ea, the wise one,
Was filled with wrath against her." [130]

The gods in council appealed to Ea to create a rival goddess, that the goddess of war be held in check. He created Ṣaltu ("Hostility," "Discord"), to oppose Ishtar, and sent her forth with warning of the dread fury of the goddess of War.[131]

"Her soul is rage, a storm of the ocean,
But it shall not conquer thee.
Thy plans shall cause to perish
All the ways
Of the mistress of peoples, the votaress;
O Ṣaltu, though she rage again and again,
And her face (rage) fearfully
Yet shalt thou return *in safety*." [132]

Alarmed by the reports of her rival, Ishtar sent her messenger, Ninsubur, to bring a description of her. The report of her was vivid and disquieting. She was the foe of the people and not their friend, like Ishtar. "Her desire was to conquer, she roared, hurled weapons, and thundered, and none could oppose her in battle." [133]

Agušaya, "the loud crying," a goddess who is usually identified with Ishtar herself, was sent by the "Lady of Battle" to subdue the terrible Ṣaltu. She went to Ea and said: "Why [O Ea, thou wise one], didst thou create [this Ṣaltu]? Whose mouth is like the waters in full flood." Ea promised Agušaya that he would cause Ṣaltu to cease making war against Ishtar if she were elevated to the rank of a goddess and mankind told of her miraculous birth. "May she exist forever. Let sound of liturgical lament be instituted in the eternal rituals." Hammurabi, in the epilogue of this mythological poem, describes the powers of each one of these goddesses of War, Ishtar who is supreme and whose orders the terrible Ṣaltu ("Discord") must obey; Agušaya the powerful; Ṣaltu creation of Ea, whose greatness he proclaimed among all peoples.[134]

FIG. 11. ISHTAR'S WAR CHARIOT. MODEL FROM KISH

The point of this early Accadian poem is that the warlike goddess of the morning star has a rival in "Discord" or "Hostility," even more dreadful than herself. These are only titles of the War-goddess exalted by the early Semites into separate deities.[135] The reason for the ancient Sumerian identification of the planet Venus with the beautiful goddess of Love and War may only be surmised. This myth arose in hoary antiquity, before 3000 B.C., and forms one of the principal features of Babylonian, Assyrian, Aramaic, and Canaanitish religion. Capricious

in love, wilful in action, Ishtar was a constant source of trouble to the gods. She had no consort and really loved only the unfortunate youth Tammuz, who perished annually with the dying corn. By her beauty, demigods, men, and beasts were seduced to their destruction. In the sixth book of the Epic of Gilgamish is told a legend of how she yearly sends Tammuz to his doom and then decrees wailings for his departure. A bird of many colours she loved,

> "But him thou smotest and brokest his wing.
> He sits in the forest crying, alas my wing."

She loved a lion, and then dug seven and seven pits for him, and a horse, honoured in battle, and then smote him with whip, spur, and lash. She received homage and worship from a herdsman, and smote him, turning him to a jackal. Ishullunu, the gardener of her father (the Heaven-god), had been one of her devout worshippers. Him she beheld and desired greatly, proffering rich repast and voluptuous pleasure. Ishullunu[136] rejected her shameful advances. Him she turned into a hog(?),[137] and caused him to live in misery.

When Gilgamish returned from his conflict with Humbaba, he put on new raiment, and set his crown upon his head. The halo of his victories, the beauty of the home-returned warrior, fascinated the goddess. She proposed marriage, and Gilgamish scornfully recounted her many love intrigues:

> "What husband would thou *love always?*
> And me likewise thou lovest and wouldst make me even as they are."

Ishtar flew to heaven in anger and appealed to Anu her father to punish the insolent Gilgamish, by creating a "bull of Heaven" to destroy him. In case of his refusal, she threatened to call forth the dead from Hell to consume the living. And so Anu created the Gudanna, "celestial bull," that is the constellation Taurus, the bull of Heaven, which draws the

Plough star (Triangulum). This constellation, rising in early May (Hammurabi period), announces the scorching heat of the climate of Sumer and Accad. Hence Anu warned Ishtar that the bull would bring seven years of hunger on the land. But Ishtar, faithful to her character as Mother-goddess, had gathered provisions for seven years. Gilgamish and his friend Enkidu,[138] however, slew the celestial bull,[139] "which descended from Heaven." In rage Ishtar mounted the wall of Erech and cursed Gilgamish. The heroes replied by throwing the right

FIG. 12. ENKIDU IN COMBAT WITH THE BULL OF HEAVEN. ISHTAR BEHOLDS THE FIGHT

leg of the bull in her face. Ishtar assembled the temple prostitutes of Erech and mourned over the severed leg of the divine bull.[140]

This astral connexion of the great Sumerian and Semitic Mother-goddess resulted in a widely spread worship of her under various titles throughout Western Asia, among the Aramaeans, Hebrews, Phoenicians, and Canaanites. As deity of fate, of war, or of sexual reproduction, Ishtar (and Astarte) is fundamentally the Sumerian goddess of the planet Venus. Among the Western Semites her name as War-goddess is 'Anata, Hanata, as it occurs in the earliest known cuneiform texts of the Hammurabi period.[141] Ancient Canaanite city

names contain her title, Beth-'Anath, Beth-'Anôth, 'Anathôth. Her worship as goddess of War in Syria and Canaan was so famous that it spread to Egypt, and is mentioned frequently in hieroglyphic texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. King Setho's team of war-horses was called "'Anat is content," and Ramses' sword "'Anat is victorious."[142] Fig. 13 shews in the upper register the lewd type of the Mother-goddess, the great Astarte. She stands on a lion (also symbolic of Ishtar in Babylonia and Assyria), holding in one hand serpents, symbolic of the life of the earth, and in the other lotus blooms, symbolic of love. The inscription calls her Qadesh, Queen of Heaven. *Qadishtu*, an ordinary word in Babylonian for "harlot," is also a title of Ishtar as patroness of temple prostitutes, and so are probably the Phoenician *Qadisht* and Hebrew *Qedēshā* titles of Astarte.[143] On her right is the Egyptian god Min and on her left the great Syrian god Reshep, holding spear and *ank*. Of Reshep the text says: "Reshep, the great god, lord of the heavens, ruler of the nineness." In the lower register is the seated War-goddess 'Anat, described in the text, "Queen of Heaven, Mistress of the gods." 'Anat is identified with Athena Soteira on an inscription from Cyprus.[144] That 'Anat is Astarte has been proved by an Egyptian bas-relief of the fourteenth century found at Beth-Shan, an ancient city of Canaan, north of Jerusalem (Fig. 14). Here Qadesh-Astarte is described by 'Anat, "Queen of Heaven, Mistress of the gods."[145] Astarte is known to have had a temple at Beth-Shan, and when the Philistines defeated the army of Israel and slew Saul, they fastened his body to the walls of Beth-Shan and placed his armour in the temple of Astarte.[146] Small shrines bearing on their roofs figures of doves were found in the older strata of her temple here, and the dove is constantly associated with this goddess in Syria,[147] and sacred to her among the Semites generally. At Babylon a model of a dove in terra-cotta was found in a brick box beneath the entrance of a door of the temple of the Mother-goddess Ninmah.[148] Doves and turtledoves were

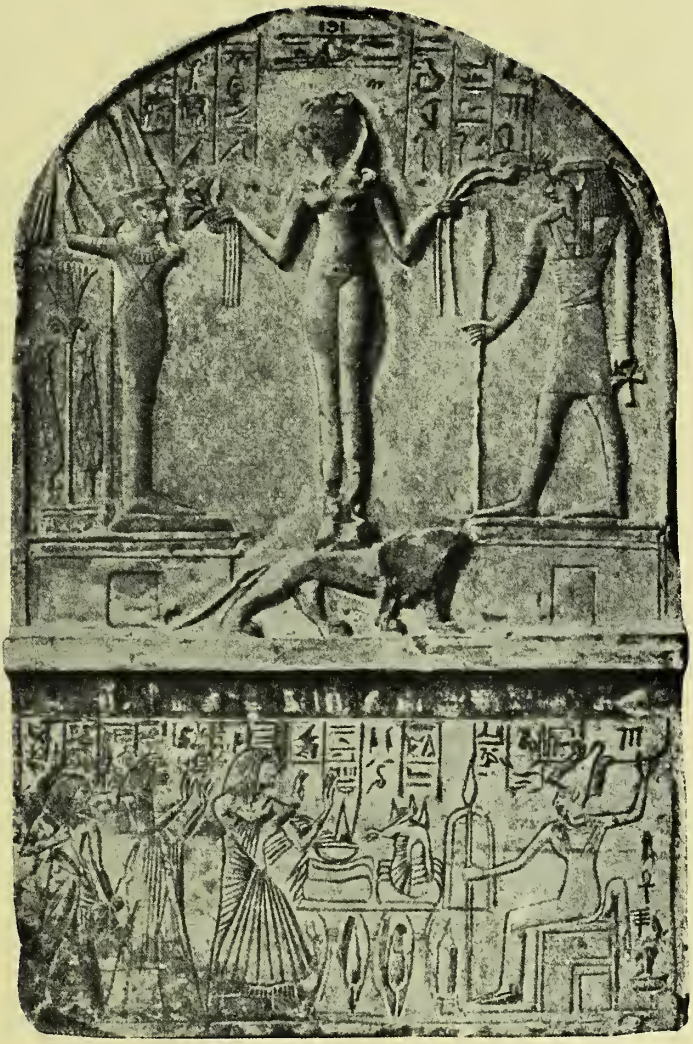

Fig. 13. Egyptian Bas-relief Shewing 'Anat. Dynasty XIX

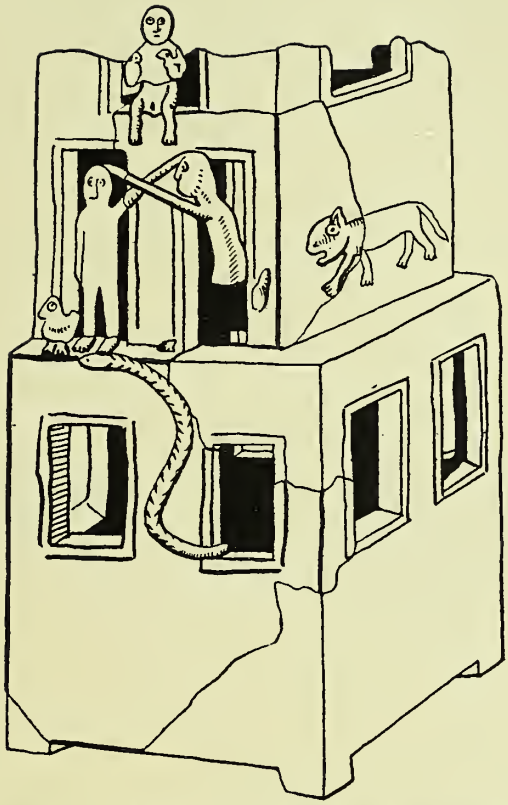

Fig. 15. Terra-cotta Shrine of Beth-Shan

the only birds admitted in Hebrew sacrifices and rituals of purification. In the court of the inner shrine of Ishtar at Assur[149] stood many small terra-cotta shrines in two stages, with windows, and adorned on the cross sections with rows of doves, on the roof with lions, and on the sides with serpents, all animals symbolic of Ishtar. On the Beth-Shan shrines a nude figure sits looking out from the upper window, holding birds in each hand. A serpent[150] winds upward from a window on each side of these Canaanite shrines. They are probably little movable prayer-altars, carried by each worshipper for his devotions before the eternal Earth-goddess, mother of men, protectress and patroness of all life.[151]

FIG. 16. ISHTAR PARAKYPTOUSA. ASSYRIAN IVORY PLAQUE

In Fig. 15, the nude Ishtar who sits in the upper window represents a widely spread Babylonian and Canaanitish myth of the so-called Aphrodite Parakyptousa[152] or Venus Prospiciens, referred to by Ovid, whose cult is particularly well known in Cyprus, both by similar clay models of houses and in a local myth preserved by Plutarch. It is said that at Salamis a harlot sat peeping out of a window and enticed many lovers, one of whom, because of her cruel flirtations, died of unrequited love. As the body of the beautiful youth was carried past her house on its journey to the grave, she again looked from her window, not in remorse, but gloating in triumph over the victim of her attractions. Aphrodite in rage turned her into stone.[153] The cult of Aphrodite, patroness of harlotry and lewd love, in Cyprus

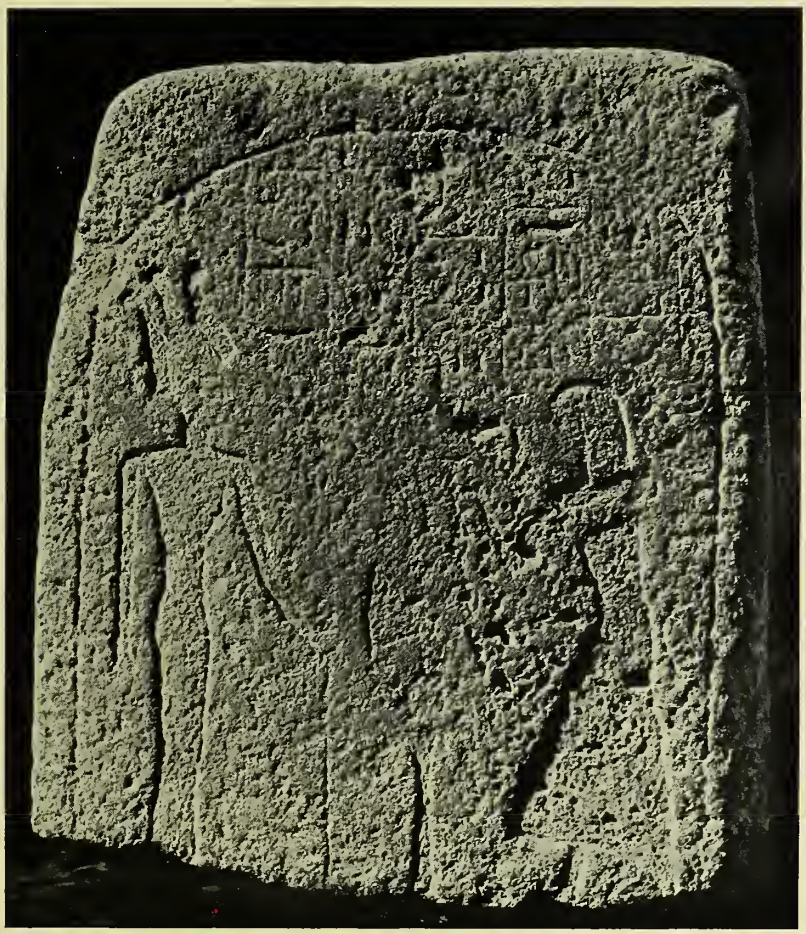

Fig. 14. Hesi-Nekht Astarte of Beth-Shan Wearing Head-dress of the Syrian Goddess, with Two Feathers

was borrowed from Phoenicia, and eventually from Babylonia. Faithless enticer of men with her beauty, she is represented on Assyrian monuments also as Parakyptousa. Fig. 16 shews an ivory panel from the palace of Ashurnasirpal (ninth century), obviously of Phoenician handicraft, found in the palace at Calah.

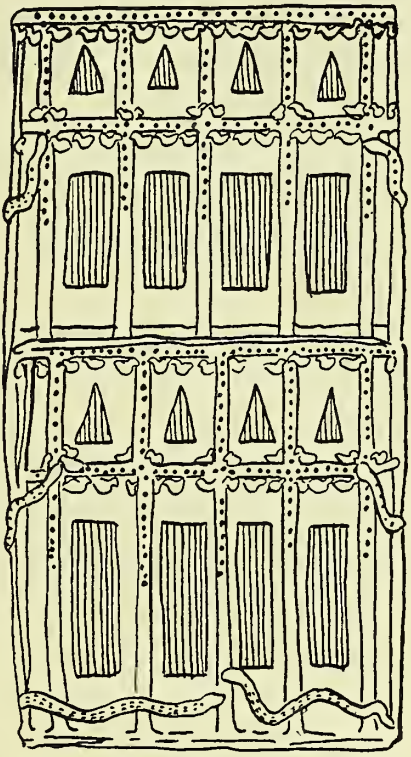

Fig. 17. Terra-cotta Movable Altar of Worshipper before Ishtar of Assur

Ishtar, the harlot, who peers from the window, was known in Babylonia and Assyria as Kilili.[154] She brought woe upon men and distracted their minds. In such cases the priests performed magic rituals and the patient prayed to her. A eunuch must sing a lament to her. The prayer of the afflicted man began: "Thou art Kilili who leans from the window, . . . who perceives the words of men . . . causing the maiden to depart from her couch." "Thou hast brought me loss, thy limbs upon me thou hast put, O great Ishtar."[155] Kilili *mushirtu* is the Babylonian title of this seductive divinity, and means precisely "Kilili who leans out"; she was known as "the queen of the windows."[156] A demon who cries at the window of a *mushirtu*, i.e., "harlot," is cursed in the name of the gods.[157] The Sumerian titles are Abšušu and Abtagigi, corresponding to Kilili and Sahirtu, "she who leans from windows," "she who loiters about," "sends messages."[158] Abtagigi of messages and Kilili of the windows are evil spirits which bring woe to men.[159]

She is the "Beltis of wall and colonnade," who sits in the recesses of the city walls to entice men to their perdition.[160] The clay models of dove-cotes and altars in which Ishtar appears at the windows with doves in her hands, or on which doves stand, lend force to the assumption that Kilili is identical with the Accadian word *kililu, kulilu*, some kind of bird.[161]

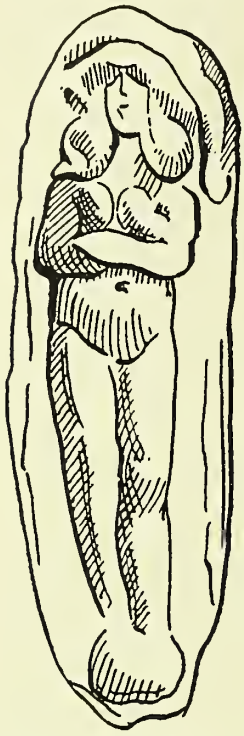

FIG. 18. NUDE ISHTAR EARLY BABYLONIAN

Undoubtedly the sacrifice of doves in the Hebrew rituals of expiation is a remnant of this bird sacred to Astarte. Ishtar of Nineveh was sent to Egypt by Tushratta, king of the Mitanni, at the very time when the Hebrews of the age of Moses were invading Canaan, in order that the king of Egypt might learn to worship her.[162] The myth of Ishtar, Astarte, Atargatis, is one of the principal factors in Sumerian and Semitic religion. She is often represented as a mother with a child at her breasts (the Babylonian Nintud); Fig. 18 is an example of a clay figurine, which is found in abundance in Babylonia and Assyria.[163] Common and ubiquitous throughout Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, is this nude figure of Ishtar as the goddess of Love and Harlotry. It is found prolifically in Babylonia from the West Semitic period onward, in Elam, Syria, among the Hittites, Egypt, the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and Canaan.[164] It would seem that a figurine of this Aphrodite Vulgaris was possessed by every household, and many carried cylinder seals with the nude goddess engraved upon them. These are probably examples of the household gods called teraphim by the Hebrews. The tale of Jacob and Rachel of early Hebrew folk-lore contains a vivid account of how Rachel would not leave her Aramaean home without the

household gods,[165] which she brought with her in the migration to Canaan, but which were put aside by Jacob before he reached Bethêl, the shrine of the god El, and hidden under an oak by Shechem.[166] David's wife found teraphim ready to hand in his house, when she deceived Saul by substituting them for David in his bed.[167] Even the prophet Hosea, zealous advocate of the worship of Yāw, asserts that religion is im-

FIG. 19. AZIZOS AND MONIMOS, COMPANIONS OF THE SUN AS AN EAGLE. MURAL DECORATION FROM TEMPLE COURT OF BAITOCAICE

possible without pillars, ephods, and teraphim.[168] In Assyria an adopted son had no claims on the "gods" of his adopting father.[169]

At Edessa in the late period the morning and evening stars bear Arabic names; both are masculine and are represented in art as two youths, companions of the sun. Their names are Azizos, "the powerful," the morning star, and Monimos, "the beneficent," the evening star. These correspond to the Palmyrene couple Arṣu and 'Azizu, where Arṣu is undoubtedly the female Venus, the evening star.[170] A monument of Baitocaice (Fig. 19) shews the mythological conception of the two phases of the planet Venus conceived as precursor and follower of the sun. This is based upon an astronomical observation discovered by the Sumerians in remote antiquity. Venus

is never more than 48 degrees before the sun in the morning or after him at sunset, and hence Ishtar is also known as the twin sister of Shamash.[171] The masculine gender of the double Venus at Edessa is apparently either a survival of the ancient South Arabian Athtar, or due to Greek influence (Phosphorus

FIG. 20. 'ATE OF HIERAPOLIS RIDING A LION. OBVERSE (LEFT), SEATED FIGURE OF ADAD

and Hesperus).[172] At Ferzol near Baalbek there is a rock sculpture of the Syrian Sun-god riding a horse and led by the youth Azizos.[173]

The Mother-goddess of the Aramaeans in the late period was Atargatis, a Greek transcription of 'Atar-'Ate, corrupted also to Tar-'ata, hence Greek and Latin Derketō. This double name contains the ordinary Arabian name of Venus Athtar and the Aramaic name of the Mother-goddess, 'Ate, 'Atā, 'Attā.[174] Fig. 20 shews 'Ate riding a lion, usual animal symbol of Ishtar of Assyria; on a similar coin before the lion stands the dove, associated with her in all Semitic mythology. On this coin of Alexander, she wears a veil falling to the waist. The obverse has the seated figure of Adad, the principal male deity of Hierapolis, the older Nappigi, Nanpigi, Greek Bambyce, which was renamed Hierapolis by Seleucos Nicator (312–281 B.C.).

FIG. 21. ATARGATIS

Atargatis and Adad are called "the Syrian gods of the Hieropolitans" on the coin, seen in Fig. 21. Atargatis sits on a throne decorated with two lions, and Adad's throne has two bulls.

Lucian, in his account of the Syrian goddess, refers to the shrine of Hierapolis as follows. Between the statues of Zeus (Adad) and Hera (Atargatis) stands a peculiar image of gold, which the Assyrians (i.e. Syrians) call *σημήιος*, "a symbol."[175] In his time (latter part of second century A.D.) the Syrians, themselves, could not tell whether it represented Dionysus, Deucalion, or Semiramis. On its top perched a dove, and each year it was taken to the Mediterranean[176] Sea to bring water, which was poured into a cavern beneath the temple. The myth ran that when Deucalion's ark floated on the waters of the Deluge, a cavern miraculously yawned at Hierapolis and received the waters of the Flood. In memory of this sign of divine intervention he founded a temple to Juno over the cavern, and instituted the annual ritual of bringing water from the sea and pouring it into the cavern.[177]

Adad and Atargatis are described by Macrobius, a Roman writer of the fourth century A.D., as the Sun-god and Earth-goddess of Syria.[178] But Adad, whose symbolic animal is a bull in Assyria and Babylonia, is certainly not a Sun-god, and Macrobius has confused the Sun-god of the Aramaeans, Malak-bêl of Palmyra, and the older and original Aramaic El, Rakkab, Rākeb-El, Reshef, with Adad. There are three principal Aramaic and Canaanite deities under various names, the Sun-god (animal symbol the horse), the Rain and Thunder-god, and the Earth-goddess. The Hebrews, who are apparently a Canaanitish people, had these same deities, El, Sun-god, Yāw, the Rain and Thunder-god, and Astarte.

Bambyce, the ancient Nappigi, is said to have been founded by the legendary Babylonian survivor of the Deluge, Sisythus, in Lucian, a corruption of Xisouthros, the Sumerian Ziusudra. Lucian, like all Greek and Roman writers of the period, trans-

forms Semitic mythology into Greek and Roman terms and assigns the legend of the Flood to the Greek Deucalion. This Sumerian legend, based as we now know upon an ancient catastrophe in lower Mesopotamia, looms largely in the mythology of Asia. Among the Aramaeans it has been preserved only in this highly distorted form of a late writer. He says, repeating the legend as the Greeks told it, that in the Deluge the race of men perished to a man. This first race became rebellious, did unholy deeds, disregarded the sanctity of oaths and hospitality, and behaved cruelly to suppliants. The earth discharged volumes of waters, rivers descended from Heaven, and the sea mounted high. Deucalion alone was saved, for he was wise and pious. He placed his wives and children in an ark and entered in. There came to him into the ark boars, horses, lions, serpents, all beasts which roam the earth in couples. Zeus (i.e. Adad) had ordered it. They floated on the waters as long as the Flood remained. From the native Aramaeans of Bambyce Lucian learned the fable already cited concerning the cavern which swallowed the Flood. Ritual followed myth here, and men came yearly from Syria, Arabia, and beyond the Euphrates (Assyria of the earlier period), to bring water from the sea to pour into the cavern.

According to the Babylonian version Adad let loose the torrents of Heaven upon the world, and Ishtar wailed over the destruction of mankind whom she had borne. In this version is told also how Utnapishtim (= Ziusudra) sent forth a dove from the ark on the seventh day of the Deluge. The ark (?) and dove are seen in Fig. 21, where a Roman standard [179] has been added to it. A coin of Caracalla has the same design of an ark (?) and dove, with Adad and Atargatis.[180] The Aramaean version of the Deluge proves that Adad and Atā had been assimilated to the Babylonian Adad and Ishtar; Hittite influence upon Semitic cults is a very secondary matter here, and entirely negligible in the study of the larger issues of Semitic mythology.

Adad, Hadad, Reshef, and the Sun-god El, Rakkab, Malak-Bêl, are the principal male deities of all West Semitic peoples. The god of Rain, Thunder, and Lightning has the title Ba'al Lebanan, "Lord of the Lebanon," [181] and was so known among the Sidonians. Rammānu,[182] Rāmimu, Rāgimu, Murtaznu, Murta'imu,[183] "the Thunderer," are names current in Babylonia, where he was also known as Ilhallabu, "god of Aleppo." [184] Adad and Rammānu occur together as names of the same deity.[185] Adad of Padda in Syria had the special name Bardad,[186] and he was known at Hamath as Iluwir,[187] a title composed of the Semitic word *ilu*, "god," and Sumerian *wir*, *mir*, the word for "wind" and "rainstorm." The Hebrew tradition connected their ancestral home with Syria, and especially with the "land of the rivers," the region of Harran and Paddan on the river Balih. As god of the Lebanons (*bêl šadî*), the Sumerians call Adad "god Marru," Marri, and the Accadians Ilumarru. This deity was identified with the Sumerian god Mer, Imi, Rihamun, Mermer, Iškur, all words for "wind," "storm," "roaring"; Nimgirgirri, Nimgigri, Nigir, "lightning"; consequently Adad-Ramman became one of the principal Babylonian and Assyrian deities, consistently associated with the Sun-god Shamash. These two gods are particularly concerned with omens and divination in Babylonia. On the monuments Adad is represented standing upon a bull, hurling a thunderbolt in his right hand and holding forked lightning in his left. A crouching bull with a two forked bolt of lightning rising from his back, a figure consisting of three

FIG. 22. WESTERN TYPE OF ADAD-RIMMON, PERIOD OF HAMMURABI

forks of lightning, are his symbols.[188] A Sumerian hymn describes Adad in the following verses:

" ' Lord Iškur, gigantic steer and glorious ' is thy name.
' Father Iškur, lord that rideth the storm,' is thy name.
Thy splendour covers the land like a garment.
At thy thunder the great mountain, father Enlil, is shaken.
At thy rumbling the great mother Ninlil trembles.
Enlil sent forth his son Iškur, saying:
' Who, my son, directeth the storm, causeth to descend the storm?
The lightning thy messenger goeth before (thee),
The foe doeth evil against the father thy creator, but who maketh himself like thee?
Destroy thou the foe with thy right hand, and let thy left hand pluck him away.'
Iškur gave ear to the words of the father his creator.
Father Iškur, who went forth from the temple, storm of sonorous voice,
Who from the temple and city went forth, the young lion." [189]

The poem at the end refers to a famous myth concerning the bird of the storm, Zû, who stole the tablets of fate from the temple of Enlil in Duranki. The gods assembled in consternation and appealed to Adad:

" O strong Adad, thou smiter, let not thy battle-front waver.
Smite thou Zû with thy weapon.
Thy name shall be great in the assembly of the gods.
Among the gods, thy brothers, shalt thou have no rival.
Sanctuaries shall come into being and be built.
In the four quarters make thou thy cult cities." [190]

This Accadian poem attributes the defeat of Zû and the recovery of the tablets of fate to the god Lugalbanda, after Adad, Ishtar, and Shara had refused to seek the terrible Zû in the mountains. It is clear from the older Sumerian poem that Iškur did obey his father Enlil and conquered Zû; the Accadian form of the myth is only a redaction of the legend from some school of poets who desired to glorify their god Lugalbanda (Ninurta). An early Accadian fragment preserves a similar myth. Adad's fury had decimated the land and de-

stroyed the living.[191] Enlil summoned the Mother-goddess Bêlit-ili, and ordered her to appease her brother. In the end Enlil met Adad and addressed him:

> " O first among thy brothers, thou bull of the heavens,
> In my land thou hast poured out misery unto silence.
> I accorded thee sanctuaries *to rule over.*
> May the king *on behalf of his fathers fear thee.*
> Hear thou his prayers.
> Cause abundance to rain upon his land."

Adad's fury is appeased by the grant of divine authority to appoint and defend the rulers of Babylonia. This divine appointment of kings by the Rain and Mountain-god of the Aramaeans and Hebrews appears repeatedly in their mythology. Adad, El, Reshef, Rākib-El, and Shamash gave Panamu of Yādi the sceptre of Aleppo.[192] So also is Yāw,[193] god of the Children of Israel, described in the ancient Hebrew " Song of the Sea," as a man of war: " Thou sendest forth thy wrath, consuming them like stubble, and with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were piled up. Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them." Yāw appeared unto his people in a cloud, and revealed himself on the mountains in fire, darkness, and clouds, and spoke out of the midst of fire. The " Book of the Wars of Yahweh "[194] and the " Book of Jashar "[195] were two collections of ancient Hebrew martial songs. From the latter collection come the " Song of the Bow "[196] and the hymn of Joshua at the battle of Gibeon. It is extremely probable that Jashar is a title of the Babylonian Adad.[197] Jashar means " the just," and the corresponding Accadian word Ishar appears as a title of Adad and Nergal in Babylonian and Assyrian. The " Book of Jashar " may well mean the book of the Canaanitish and Aramaean Thunder-god Adad, and all the more since Paddan of Syria is written Padda in Assyrian, and a name of Nergal (often confused with Adad) is Ishar-padda. Already in the period of Ur (end of the twenty-third century) Ishar-badan, apparently " Ishar of

Padan," occurs as a proper name, and the god Ishar-padan, variant Ishar-padda, occurs in southern Babylonia in the period when, according to tradition, Abraham migrated from Ur of the Chaldees by way of Harran in Syria.

Job describes El, in the late period when Yāw and El had been identified, in verses similar to the Sumerian and Accadian hymns:

> " Hearken unto the rumbling of his voice,
> And to the muttering that goeth out of his mouth.
> He letteth it go under the whole Heaven
> And lightning to the ends of the earth." [198]

As the Aramaean kings derived their rights to sceptre and throne from Adad, so also Saul of Benjamin became the first king of Israel by the direction of Yāw.[199] Jeroboam received the same divine commission to rule over the ten northern tribes of Solomon's disrupted kingdom from Yāw.

All mythological references to the principal deity of the twelve tribes of Israel, who appear to have been only a part of the greater Hebrew people, indicate that he was identical with the Amorite and Aramaean deity Hadad, Adad, Ilumarru, and the Sumerian Mer. The name was originally written Yāw, as is proved by the earliest written records of Samaria, and among Samaritan exiles in Assyria, where the deity has invariably this form in all proper names.[200] As an Aramaic [201] deity Yāw occurs in the name of a king of Hamath who was captured by Sargon in 720 B.C. The name is written [ilu] Ya-u-bi-'-di, i.e., " god Yāw is my help." [202] The element *bi'di* is frequently employed with deities of the Aramaic pantheon, as in Atar-bi'di, Mar [203]-bi'di, Sagil-bi'di, Adadi-bi'di, Bêd-El, Hadba'd, [ilu] Apil-Addu-ba'di. The Jewish colony of Elephantine in Southern Egypt, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., wrote in Aramaic and pronounced the name of their principal deity Yāw.[204] In the sacred writings of the Jews this original name is correctly preserved in proper names as Yāw and Yāh, but for some unexplained reason it was extended into a verbal

form, apparently Yahweh, "He causes to be,"[205] and then pointed with the vowels of the word Adōnāi, and pronounced Adōnai, whence the modern reading, Jehovah. In this book I use the form Yāw. A name Yahweh, Jehovah, never existed.

Some have argued that the god Yāw was a Moon-god, but the sources both Aramaic and Hebrew indicate his identity with the Rain and Thunder-god Adad. A coin from Gaza in Southern Philistia, fourth century B.C., the period of the Jewish subjection to the last of the Persian kings, has the only known representation of this Hebrew deity. The letters Y H W are incised just above the hawk(?) which the god holds in his outstretched left hand, Fig. 23. He wears a himation, leaving the upper part of the body bare, and sits upon a winged wheel. The right arm is wrapped in his garment. At his feet is a mask. Because of the winged chariot and mask it has been suggested that Yāw had been identified with Dionysus on account of a somewhat similar drawing of the Greek deity on a vase where he rides in a chariot drawn by a satyr.[206] The coin was certainly minted under Greek influence, and consequently others have compared Yāw on his winged chariot to Triptolemos of Syria, who is represented on a wagon drawn by two dragons. It is more likely that Yāw of Gaza really represents the Hebrew, Phoenician and Aramaic Sun-god El, Elōhim, whom the monotheistic tendencies of the Hebrews had long since identified with Yāw. Sanchounyathōn, an historian of Gebal, whose lost writings are preserved by Eusebius, and who in turn quotes them from Philo Byblius, is said to have dedicated his History of Phoenicia to Abibalos, king of the Berutians. This is probably Abiba'al, king of Gebal, who lived in the reign of Osorkon I (tenth century). Sanchounyathōn was undoubtedly a Phoenician writer of that period, as the statement of

Fig. 23. Yāw, Coin of Gaza. Fourth Century, B.C.

Porphyry, preserved in Eusebius, asserts. He based his history upon Yerombalos, a priest of Yeuō, undoubtedly the god Yāw, who is thus proved to have been worshipped at Gebal as early as 1000 B.C. In a mound north-west of Beisan, modern Ta'annek, has been found a letter of the fifteenth century written in cuneiform by Ahi-Yami, which proves that Yāw was a deity of the Canaanites.

FIG. 24. 'ASHTART-YĀW. COIN OF GAZA

An Aramaic Sun-god is Rākib El,[207] "charioteer of El," corresponding to the Sumerian god Bunene *rākib narkabti*, "charioteer" of the Sun-god, "who sits in the chariot-seat, whose onslaught is irresistible, who harnesses the powerful mules, whose knees rest not, who travels before thee at thy coming and going."[208] The Sun-god is called the "Rider," Rakkab, in the name of the Aramaean king of Samāl, Bar-Rakkab,[209] and a citizen of Samāl is Bi'li-Rakkabi, "My lord is my charioteer."[210]

Yāw was associated with the Canaanitish Mother-goddess, 'Ashtart-'Anat, as we know from the name of the deity of the Jews at Elephantine, 'Anat-Yāw, where two other father-mother titles of divinities occur, such as Ashîm-Bêthêl, 'Anat-Bêthêl, in which titles of Astarte are combined with the Sun-god Bêthêl. It is precisely at Gaza, where Yāw as a Sun-god appears on a coin (Fig. 23), that coins frequently bear the figure of this 'Ashtart-Yāw, Anat-Yāw, Anat-Bêthêl, corresponding to the Phoenician Melk-'Ashtart, Eshmun-'Ashtart. Fig. 24, of the Persian period, is characteristic of this type of male-female, or female-male deity, and the heads, being joined, prove that under these names was worshipped a deity who combines the attributes of both.[211]

An Aramaean and Canaanite deity is Reshep, concerning whose identity with Adad and Yāw there are not unanimous opinions.[212] In the list of Aramaic deities of Zenjirli, early eighth century, he is placed between El and Rekub-El, both

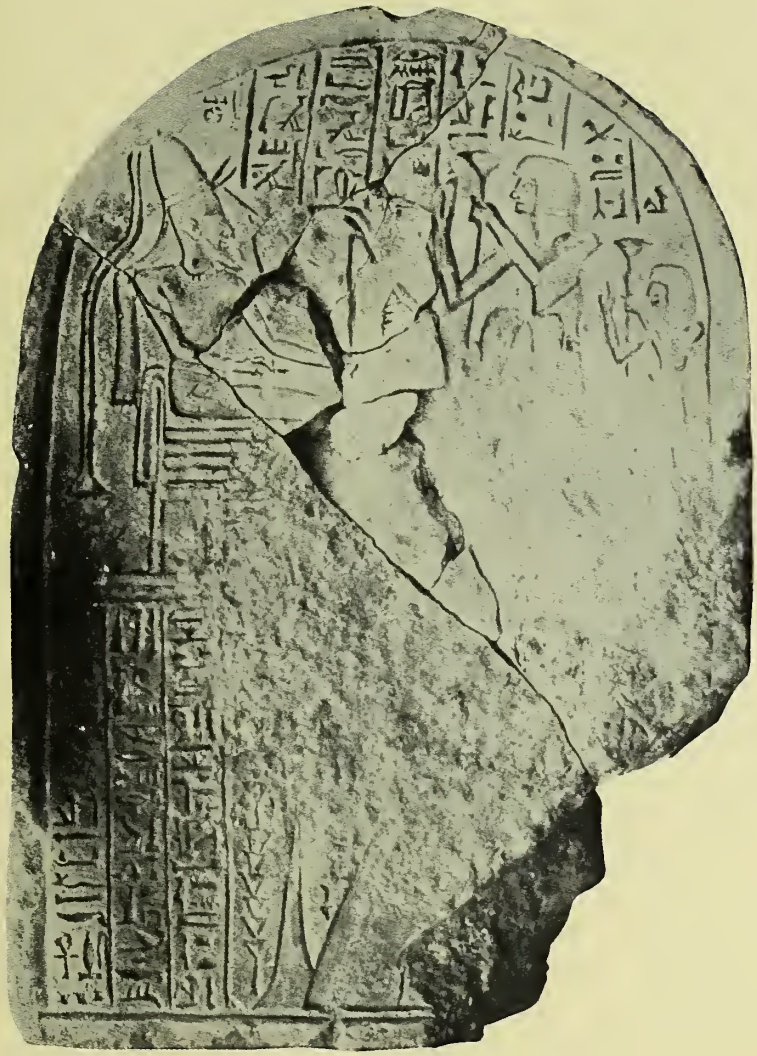

Fig. 25. Stele of Mikal of Beisan

Sun-gods. A principal centre of his cult was Sidon of Phoenicia, where a section of the city was known as Ereṣ-Reshep, or, as some divide the letters, Ereṣ-Reshpām, or Reshepim, the later Greek Apollōnia at Sidon, and the modern Arabic Arsūf.[213] From Sidon his cult spread to Cyprus, where he is identified on bilingual inscriptions with Apollo.[214] An Egyptian stele of the twelfth century B.C. identifies Reshef with Šaramana, or Šalamana, and represents him as a god of War with shield and battle-axe.[215] The deity Shulmānu appears in Assyria in the thirteenth century [216] and at Sidon in the third century, and in a Greek inscription from Northern Syria as Selamanēs.[217] A king of Moab has the name Salamānu in the time of Ahaz of Judah.[218] Hosea (x.14), in a hopelessly corrupt passage, preserves the name Shalman. Since Ishtar of Assur is called Shulmanîtu, "she of the city Shulmān," [219] it is obvious that the Assyrian god is identical with the name of some city, as Adad was called Iluhallabu, after the city Aleppo. Shulmānu, and Shalmān are probably identical with the ancient name of Jerusalem, Shālēm,[220] where Malkîzedek was king and priest of the god El in the days of Abraham (twenty-first century). The name of this city was written Salim in the correspondence of Abdihiba, king of Jerusalem, with Amenophis of Egypt in the fifteenth century, but with the Sumerian prefix, *uru*, "city," and consequently U-ru-sa-lim replaced the older name before the age of Moses and became Jerusalem of the later period. By adding the locative ending *ān*, the name of the city became also Salmān, and its god El was called Ilu-Salmān in Assyria, and in Babylonia Sulmān. Babylonian culture and religion exercised a powerful influence on the whole region as is proved also by the name of a city near Jerusalem in the days of Abdihiba, Bêt-Ninurta, or Bêt-Anuššat,[221] "House of the god Ninurta," where the cult of the Sumerian War-god Ninurta must have been adopted by the Canaanites before this period, as also at Bêth-Ninurta near Gebal in Syria.[222]

The two Canaanite deities of Salem were, therefore, El, i.e.,

Salman, the Sun-god and Astarte or Salmanîtu.[223] Reshef-Shalamana, the War-god on the Egyptian stele, is almost certainly a Sun-god, and the identification of Reshef with Apollo, also a Sun-god, is correct. A Phoenician press seal mentions the god Melqart-Reṣef.[224] Melqart, the local god of Tyre, was a Sun-god. The Egyptian monument, Fig. 13, characterizes Reshef by the head of a gazelle on the forehead of the god, and a number of Egyptian monuments bearing the name of Reshef have the same conical crown and gazelle head. He is usually represented brandishing axe or spear and defending himself with a shield.[225] At Beisan, in the temple of the local god, has been found the stele of Mekel, "god of Bêth-Shan" (Fig. 25).[226] Here Mekel, identified by inscriptions with Reshef, has a high conical crown, decorated by two long ribbons, one falling from the crown and ending in a tassel. The other falls from the band above the ears and on the fore-crown are the two bull horns, characteristic of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian deities.[227] The pointed full beard, long high nose and cranial lineaments, indicate with surety a Semitic deity. Before him stand Amenemapt and his son Paremheb, Egyptian builders of the temple in the reign of Thotmes III (fifteenth century). Since the Egyptians represented Set-Sutek, the god of Thunder and Lightning, in much the same way (having horns and one long ribbon falling from the top of the crown), it is argued by some that Reshef is a form of Adad.[228] Fig. 26 shews the only figure

Fig. 26. Bas-relief from Moab

of a deity from Moab, which may be regarded as Kemosh, god of the Moabites. The same ribbon, here curled at the end, and affording some reason to suppose that it originally represents the tail of a lion or some animal, falls from the top of a low crown. Apparently neither gazelle head nor two horn design is added to the forehead; the god holds a spear in readiness to attack, and a lion in miniature stands behind him. But in Babylonian iconography the lion symbolized the Sun-god Nergal, and the bull represents Adad in all Semitic symbolism. Kemosh is frequently mentioned on the stele of Mesha', king of Moab, and a father-mother goddess, Ashtar-Kemosh, occurs there, but no information can be derived concerning the nature of this deity from the contents of the inscription.[229]

Fig. 27. Phoenician Deity, from Amrith

This West Semitic type of Sun-god is also illustrated by Fig. 27, from Amrith, on the sea-coast north of Gebal. Since the stele carries a fragmentary Phoenician inscription, it cannot be earlier than the tenth century. This Phoenician deity has the same ribbon falling from the top of the crown, and the fore part has a decoration which has not even remote resemblance to a bull's horns or a gazelle's head. He wields a boomerang and holds a young lion in his left hand. The deity also stands on a lion, which walks on mountain tops. His character as a Sun-god is clearly defined by the winged sun-disk;[230] above his head is the combined Babylonian symbol of sun and moon.[231]

Fig. 28 is a seal of Addumu, king of Sidon, and from the same period as the Amarna Letters.[232] The deity hurling a spear and guarding himself with a shield is clearly Reshef, who appears on a seal of "Annipi, son of Addume, king of the city Sidon."[233]

It cannot be assumed that the hanging ribbon and bull's horns are specifically characteristic of Adad-Set-Sutek, the Thunder-god, or that gazelle head, spear, and shield are the only iconographic signs of the War-god Reshef; for he is also represented with two ribbons falling from the crown,[234] and on a seal of Rameses II, from Beisan, Mekel is represented as Reshef (Fig.

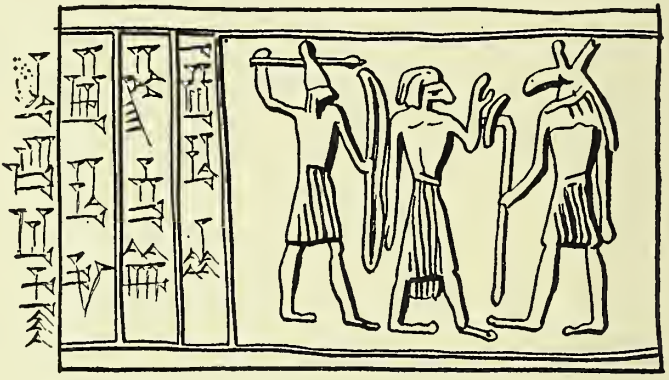

Fig. 28. Seal of Addumu

29). According to those who have seen this seal, the forehead of the crown has a miniature gazelle head. Two ribbons fly from the top of the conical crown of the War-god advancing to battle, and since here he holds the battle-axe in his left hand, Père Vincent has finely observed that this is another connection with the "ambidexter Apollo."[235]

If Mekel on the stele of Beisan (Fig. 25) has iconographic similarity to Egyptian representations of the Thunder-god, this is due to syncretism and confusion of types. The double name Reshef-Mekel occurs in inscriptions from Cyprus,[236] and once it is falsely rendered into Greek by Apollo of Amyclae in Lacedaemon.[237] Reshef of Eliyath (Tamassos) in Cyprus is rendered into Greek by Apollo the Eliyathian.[238] It is, there-

fore, certain that this deity, whose worship has been found in Moab, Canaan, throughout Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus, is really Nergal, the terrible Sumerian and Babylonian Sun-god of the fierce summer heat, sender of pestilence, fire, and plague, lord of the lower world, and implacable judge of the souls of the dead.

Mekel [239] and Reshef are, therefore, titles of Nergal. Concerning the meaning of the verb *rašāpu*, "to blaze," "to burn," there is no doubt, and Nergāl or, more correctly, Nergal as

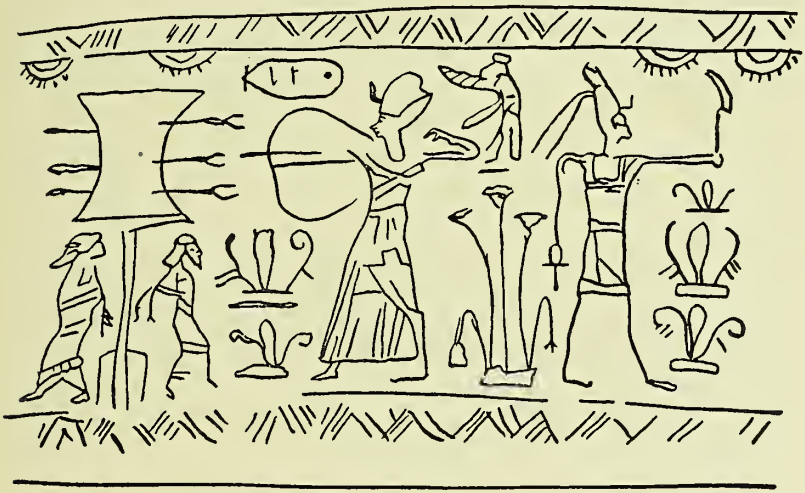

FIG. 29. SEAL OF RAMESES II, FROM BEISAN

specifically the Fire-god Girra, is called *rašpu*, "the Scorcher," or *rašubbu* in Babylonia.[240] The verb also occurs as *šarāpu*, and the god Sharrapu is a West Semitic deity, identified by the Assyrians with Lugalgirra, i.e., Nergal as Pest-god.[241] The Janus nature of Nergal, the Sumerian personification of the sun's heat, is due to the division of the year into two parts, the period of fierce heat and the period of cold; hence he was known in the West as Sharrapu, "Scorcher," and Birdu, "Cold," "Chill," [242] the Meslamtae of the Assyrians. The specialized aspects of this Sun-god resulted in his being on the one hand a devouring deity of fire and heat, of war and pesti-

lence, and on the other hand as "he who rises from Meslam," the beneficent god who returns from his sojourn in Hell after the winter solstice to reclothe the earth in verdure and supply it with grain and fruit. From summer solstice to winter solstice he descends to Hell, and hence he became the lord of Arallu and supreme judge of the souls of the dead. From this conception of the god of the lower world as the scorching heat of the midsummer sun and a withering fire, arose in later times the myth of Gehenna as a fiery place in Hell where the wicked are for ever tortured.

The Egyptian and Phoenician writing of the name commonly read Mikal does not supply evidence for its vocalization, and Makkal, Mukal, etc., may all be considered. In view of the common Phoenician and Canaanitish custom of casting human victims into furnaces of fire (Topheth) as sacrifices to this relentless deity of the lower world, the natural meaning to be placed upon this word is "Devourer," from the verb *ākāl*, "to eat."[243] But since Gê Hinnom, "Valley of Hinnom," or "Valley of the Sons of Hinnom," near Jerusalem, was a Canaanitish centre of the worship of Malik, to whom human sacrifices were made,[244] it is possible that this god of Beth-Shan is the same deity and to be read by metathesis *Makil*[245] = *Malik*.

Not obvious is the use of this word *malik*, "king," as a title of the Sun-god Nergal, or as a proper name for him. Nergal is defined as the god Malik by the Assyrian scribes,[246] and the word means "Counsellor," "Adviser." It seems to have been applied to him as the deity of pastures, flocks, and the earth's fertility, and not in the *rôle* of the sun's torrid heat. However this may be, Malik came to be one of the principal names of this deity in both aspects throughout the West, and at Tyre, his principal cult centre, he has the name Melqart, for Malk-qart, "Melek of the city."[247] At Hammon near Tyre the father-mother deity Melk-'Astarte preserves the original title of the Sun-god of Tyre.[248] The Sun-god of Babylonia,

Phoenicia, Syria, and Canaan, especially the dreaded power of the summer heat, is always the connotation of the title Malik (Moloch). At Tyre and Gebal the deity appears in the fifteenth century in the names Abdi-Milki,[249] Ili-Milki, or Milkili, king of a district near Jerusalem, Milkuru of Gebal; Milki-ú-ri, an Aramaean.[250] A king of Tyre in the time of Alexander was Azemilkos, "My strength is Melek." On the coins of Tyre Melqart is represented as a bearded god riding the waves of the Mediterranean Sea on the back of a winged hippocampus. In his right hand he draws a bow, and in his left hand are held the reins of the flying sea-horse. On coins of the Tyrian colonies the stone pillar, universal symbol of the Sun-god, is a sure indication of the character of Malik of Tyre. A Greek inscription below the two pillars reads "holy rocks."[251]

FIG. 30. COIN OF TYRE. MELQART ON SEA-HORSE

FIG. 31. COLONIAL COIN OF TYRE WITH SUN PILLARS

Sanchounyathōn preserves a myth concerning the two sun-pillars of the cult at Tyre, which probably represent the double aspects of the Phoenician Sun-god Melqart. He says that history began at Tyre with Hypsuranios,[252] inventor of huts, and his brother Ousōos, inventor of clothing made from skins. When these were dead, the Tyrians consecrated "posts" to them and worshipped two pillars (stele) which Ousōos had consecrated to fire and wind.

The cult of Melqart, who, by the accident of being the local god of a great Phoenician seaport, became a patron of sea-faring men, passed into Greek mythology as Melicertes, to whom human sacrifices were made at Tenedos. As a solar deity, following the universal Semitic mythology of the sojourn of the

Sun-god in the lower world until the days begin to lengthen at the winter solstice, the Tyrians celebrated the resurrection of Melqart on the second day of the Macedonian month Peritios, corresponding to Tyrian February-March.[253] At this festival a great fire was lighted,[254] and "having lost his old age in fire he obtains in exchange his youth"; there was in consequence a feast on the second of this month throughout Syria called *dies natalis Solis invicti*, "Natal day of the unconquerable Sun." Another legend ran that he perished in fire at Tyre where was his sepulchre; the Phoenician colony at Gades (Cadiz) in Spain also had a sepulchre of Melqart, and there was one of Melicertes at Corinth.[255] This legend of the death and burial of the Sun-god of Tyre is undoubtedly based upon the legend of the tomb of Bêl-Marduk at Babylon. As Marduk rose from his tomb at the New Year festival, so also the Tyrians believed their Sun-god to come forth from his tomb, symbol of his annual sleep of death in the lower world. At Aphaca in the Lebanons, east of Gebal, was the tomb of Ba'al, who, as shall be seen, is probably Adonis of Gebal, also a Sun-god. The burning of the image of Melqart, the Tyrian Hercules, that by passing through fire he may receive his youth again to revive the life of a dying world, seems to have been peculiar to Tyre and the lands to which his cult spread.

It may be presumed from the human sacrifices to Malik in Canaan and to Melqart as Cronus at Carthage that the Phoenicians offered the first-born in the fire which celebrated the victory of *Sol invictus*, and insured themselves against the wrath of the relentless god. The Melek of Tyre was identified with Hercules, and the coins of Tyre (Fig. 32) from 126 B.C. to 225 A.D., bear the head of the Greek Hercules, with lion-skin knotted round his neck. The design of the older Melqart (Fig. 30), who is represented as god of the chase riding on a sea-horse, may have led to his identification with Hercules, ubiquitously represented on coins clothed in a lion's skin, drawing bow with arrow, and brandishing a massive club,[256] the

so-called Tyrian Hercules of Citium. There is another mythological connection between the Nergal-Malik type of Sun-god of Tyre and the Greek deity, whose battles with the lions of Mount Cithaeron and the Nemea, with the Arcadian stag, the Erymanthian boar, and the Cretan bull, caused the Tyrians to find in his deeds a similarity to their mythological tales of Melqart. In fact one of the titles of Melqart is Ṣêd, "the Hunter," and the god has the double title, Ṣêd-Melqart, at Carthage.[257] This epithet of Melqart has not been found for

Fig. 32. Coin of Tyre

Nergal in Babylonian, but Ṣa-i-id nakirim, "Hunter of the foe," is used of Ninurta, god of the spring Sun.[258] Since Ba'al-Hamman, principal male deity of Carthage,[259] is identified with Hercules,[260] and Melqart occurs repeatedly at Carthage in proper names, the identity of Ba'al-Hamman with Ṣêd-Melqart is certain. Ba'al-Hamman of the Phoenician colony at Carthage is only a new name for the Sun-god of the mother-city Tyre, and is taken directly from the cult centre Hamman near Tyre,[261] where the double deity Melk-'Ashtart was worshipped. Astarte of Tyre became the great goddess and principal deity of Carthage; the double deity Ṣêd-Tanit, corresponding to Melk-'Ashtart of Hamman, also emerges in the mythological nomenclature of Carthage.[262]

The Sun-god was known as the god Ṣêd, "the Hunter," at Tyre [263] and Carthage.[264] Sanchounyathōn made use of trustworthy sources when he said that Agreus, the Hunter, and Halieus, the Fisherman, were descendants of Samem-roumos,[265] a title of the Sun-god, at Tyre. Here minor aspects of Melqart are personified and treated as deities in his pantheon, an ordinary Sumerian method. Agreus and Halieus [266] begat two brothers, one of whom was called Chrysōr, inventor of hook, bait, fishing line, and small fishing boats, and was the first who sailed. After his death he was deified under the name Diamichius. From them descended Technitēs and Gēinos, who invented brick making.[267] These begat Agros, Agrouēros, or Agrotēs, "the Farmer." To him the Phoenicians built a statue and "a temple drawn by oxen." At Gebal Agrotēs was the greatest of the gods. Since Agrotēs also means "Hunter," the name was applied to the Sun-god El of Gebal. The statue and temple drawn by oxen clearly refer to the chariot of the Sun-god drawn by four horses, a design found on coins of every city which emphasized the sun-cult. A chariot with four horses driven by Helios stood on the gable of the magnificent temple of the sun at Baʿalbek, and coins of that city represent the façade of the temple mounted by the chariot of the sun.[268] At Emesa (Homs) the sacred baetyl of Elagabal stands on a chariot drawn by four horses.[269] The myth of the Sun-god and his chariot and charioteer is of Babylonian origin,[270] and a coin of Tyre has Melqart and his charioteer drawing a chariot with four horses.[271] Josiah destroyed the horses and chariots of the sun at the entrance to the temple of Yāw in Jerusalem (2 Kings, xxiii.11), by which the Hebrew chronicler means images of chariots and horses dedicated to the Sun-god of Salem. A late Jewish writer in the *Book*

FIG. 33. SUN-SYMBOL OF TYRE IN CHARIOT

of Enoch refers to the wind-driven chariot of the sun and moon.

Ṣêd, "the Hunter," has no connection with Shamash, Melqart, Elagabal, Rakkab, etc., as the chariot rider of the sun. "The Hunter" as an aspect of the Western Sun-god represents rather Ninurta of the Sumerian pantheon. Ninurta, read apparently Nimurta in dialectic Sumerian, is probably the origin of the name Nimrod, the famous hunter of Hebrew mythology. This myth, incorporated in one of the oldest Hebrew documents,[272] reveals his Babylonian origin; for he is said to have founded Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh,[273] in Shineʿar (Sumer). If Calneh is an error for Kullaba, a part of Erech, at least two of these cities, Erech and Kullaba, were connected with the exploits of the hero Gilgamish, and since Nimurta is mentioned as the god of Kullaba,[274] there seems to be a confusion of two myths in the Hebrew legend. Nimrod, the mighty hunter before Yāw, and son of Kûsh,[275] is clearly the Gilgamish of Babylonian mythology; and Nimrod, founder of cities in Sumer, and latterly builder of Nineveh, Rehoboth-Îr, Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah in Assyria, is surely Nimurta, the god of the spring Sun, son of the Earth-god Enlil of Nippur. The myth of Nimrod is preserved by a stray reference in early Hebrew literature, Genesis x.8–12, and referred to again by the late compiler of 1 Chronicles i.10. The prophet Micah calls Assyria "the land of Nimrod."

There is here a remnant of an ancient and widely spread Semitic myth, originating in Sumer and Accad, concerning the Sun-god Nimurta, who, in the original Sumerian Epic of Creation, defeated the dragon of chaos and founded cities. Since Nineveh appears in history in the fifteenth century, and Calah was founded by Shalmanasar I (thirteenth century), this legend cannot be earlier. Nimurta was the principal deity of Calah, and called "the dweller of Calah."[276] In Sumero-Babylonian religion he is the War-god and the planet Saturn, and there is no myth concerning his hunting exploits, except in

connection with his hunting the foes of Babylonia. This aspect of the Babylonian Nimurta must be assumed, for it surely existed, and the Phoenician Ṣêd is the western reproduction of this Semitic myth of the Sun-god as a hunter.

At Palmyra, the ancient Tadmar,[277] the principal deities were Yarhi-Bêl, Agli-Bêl, and Atargatis. Yarhi-Bêl is regularly transcribed Yaribôlos in the Greek translations of Palmyrene texts,[278] and is proved by the tessara shewn in Fig. 34 to be the Sun-god, and another name for the Aramaean Sun-god Malak-Bêl.[279] On the left stands the Sun-god, recognizable by the rays of light spreading from his head. The Aramaic inscription has the letters *y-r-ḥ-y-b-l*. On the right is the Moon-god, determined by the crescent which stands behind his neck. The Aramaic inscription has the letters *ʿ-g-l-b-w-l*. On p. 22 reference was made to the bas-relief of Emesa (Fig. 35) on which Seimia, a title of the Mother-goddess of the Aramaeans, Ate, Atargatis, Arabian Allat, is defined by a Greek inscription as Athena. She stands between two deities; on the left is the solar deity with rays of light spreading from his head; he wears the dress of a Roman soldier specifying him as a Warrior-god. On the right stands the figure of a deity in oriental garb, holding a spear, and above his head is the Greek word Keraunō, " thunderbolt," [280] identifying him with the Semitic god Adad. The monument is thought to be broken away at the left, where a fourth deity may have stood.[281] Be that as it may, the Greek inscription, as preserved, has Yarebôl, Aglibôl, and Sei[mia]. Agli-Bôl, the Moon-god, does not appear on the monument and may be the figure which conjecturally stood on the left. Seimia then stands between the two Sun-gods of Palmyra, Malak-Bêl and Yarhi-Bôl, and before Yarhi-Bôl the Greek text has probably Belō.

The Palmyrene name of the Sun-god, Malak-Bêl, often called simply Bêl, is of Babylonian origin, as the borrowed name of the great god of Babylon, Marduk or Bêlu, proves.

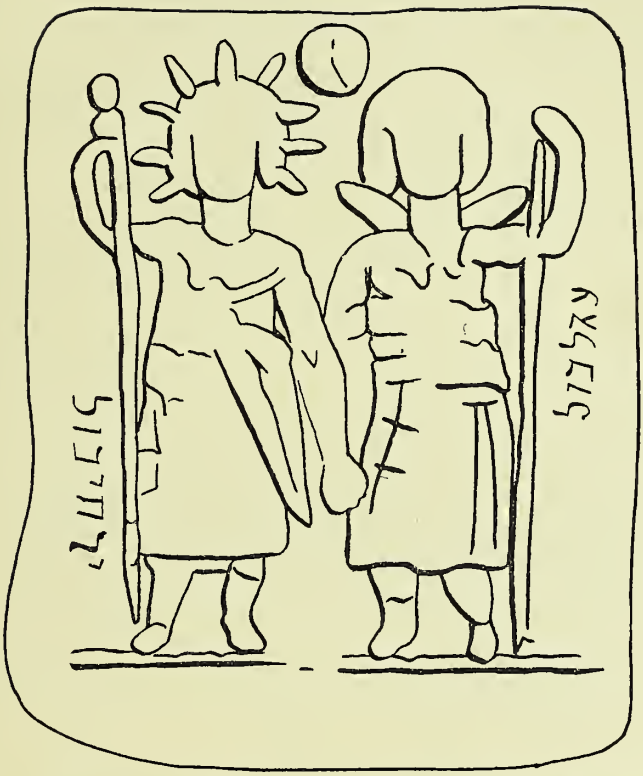

FIG. 34. TESSARA FROM PALMYRA WITH SUN-GOD (LEFT) AND MOON-GOD (RIGHT)

The local pronunciation of their god Ba'al was Bôl. Since no Semitic word *malak*, for "king," "counsellor," exists, it is impossible to connect this solar deity of central Syria with the god Malik. Malik in Phoenician and Canaanitish mythology is the Babylonian Nergal and Nimurta. Malak-Bêl was identified by the Greeks with Zeus, and by the Romans with *Sol sanctissimus*. At Palmyra the gods Agli-Bôl and Malak-Bêl occur in that order, precisely as, in Babylonia and Assyria, Sin and Shamash is a fixed sequence.[282] Malak-Bêl has been interpreted to mean "the messenger of Bêl."[283] The messenger of Bêl of Babylon was Nabu,[284] god of letters and writing. Nabu has essentially and historically no connection with the sun; he probably became the messenger of the Sun-god Marduk, because he had been identified with the planet Mercury. This planet is never seen except in the morning or evening twilight, since it stands in close proximity to the sun. For this reason Malak-Bôl of Syria has been identified with Mercury.[285] It has been assumed that Malak-Bêl is simply a metathesis for Bêl-malak,[286] "Bêl has counselled," but the Semites did not form names of deities in that way. The god Balmalagê, listed among Phoenician deities by a scribe of Asarhaddon,[287] is certainly compounded from the West Semitic general title of deities, Ba'al, and *malâk*, "messenger," as it occurs in Punic inscriptions, Ba'al-malâk,[288] where the writing permits no doubt. A Messenger-god Malâk must have been well known among West Semitic peoples. It is found in the Edomite divine name Qaush-malaka.[289] Qaush seems to have been the national deity of this people who occupied the mountainous region south of Judea.[290] The personal name Il-ma-la-[ku] occurs in an Assyrian contract, with Aramaic transcription El-malak.[291] Malak-Bêl is identified with Mercury[292] in a Greek inscription of Abila (Suk-Barada) in the Anti-Lebanon, north-west of Damascus.

A marble altar from Palmyra, dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Felix to Malak-Bêl and the gods of Tadmor in

FIG. 35. BAS-RELIEF, SHEWING SEIMIA BETWEEN THE SOLAR DEITY (LEFT) AND ADAD (RIGHT)

Greek, and to *Sol sanctissimus* in Latin, has a myth of the sun portrayed in art.[293] The four sides of the altar represent the birth, youth, middle age, and old age of the diurnal or annual life of the sun. On the back side Malak-Bêl, as a naked boy, issues from the top of a cypress-tree bearing on his shoulders a ram. Only the upper part of his body has emerged. Here is the rising sun born on the eastern horizon of the wooded Lebanon sky-line, precisely as in Babylonian art he rises over the mountains of Elam. Fig. 36, a Sumerian seal of about the

FIG. 36. SUMERIAN ROLL SEAL

twenty-fifth century, shews the Sun-god, Babbar, Shamash, emerging from the wooded mountains of the east, holding in his left hand the key with which he unlocks the gate of sunrise. Above him stands the winged figure of Innini, Ishtar, the morning star, and, from behind, the god Immer, Adad, sends showers upon mountain and plain. The bull, symbol of the Rain and Thunder-god, lies at his feet. On the left stands a god with a bow, probably representing the Sun-god as a hunter, and the lion of the sun with open jaws rushes at the celestial hunter from the left. The eagle, Sumerian symbol of the luminary which takes its daily flight across the vault of Heaven and traverses the celestial dominion of the stars and constellations, descends towards the rising sun from the storm-clouds of Adad.

In Sumerian art Shamash is invariably represented, even at his rising, as an old man. For his various aspects, they have special forms of the solar deity, as Ninurta for the morning or spring sun, Nergal for the midday or summer sun. The myth of the naked youth rising from the wooded hills of the Lebanons, the good shepherd bearing a ram on his shoulders, cannot be traced to Babylonian mythology, unless the myth of the shepherd Tammuz lies at the basis of this late Semitic iconography.

The right side of the altar shews Malak-Bêl driving a chariot drawn by four winged griffins; behind him stands the winged goddess of Victory, who places a crown upon his head. This scene represents the youth of the sun mounting victoriously toward the vault of heaven.[294] The front of the altar (Fig. 37) has the bust of Malak-Bêl supported by an eagle. From his head spring the brilliant rays of the midday sun.[295] The left side has the bust of the bearded Sun-god, with hood and sickle. This is Cronos, the setting sun (or autumn sun), after he has run his course and descends toward the western horizon in his old age.[296] A monument of Palmyra represents the two great gods of Palmyra, Malak-Bêl and Agli-Bôl, sun and moon,[297] standing with hands clasped before a cypress-tree. On the left is Malak-Bêl, a youth with a sickle, and on the right Agli-Bôl, in garb of a Roman soldier; a crescent stands behind his shoulders precisely as on the Palmyrene tessara, Fig. 34.

The close relation between the Thunder and Rain-god, Ramman-Adad, and the Sun-god in Semitic mythology is one of the aspects of Babylonian religion most prominent and most difficult to explain. The Earth-god Enlil of Sumerian religion is by origin "Lord of the Wind," god of the vast Underworld, whence come the winds and storms, his son is Ishkur, Immer, Mur, and the Semitic god of Winds, Rain, and Lightning, Adad.[298] On the other hand the Sun-god Ninurta is also the son of Enlil, and Enlil himself is identified with

Fig. 37. Palmyrene Altar, Front View

Shamash. The mythological origin of these diverse conceptions seems to be that the sun and the winds issue from the vast infernal regions of the dominion of Enlil, lord of both upper and lower worlds. Undoubtedly the Greek myth of Aeolus, to whom Zeus gave control of the winds, which he let forth from the caves of the mountains, has been ultimately derived from this ancient Sumerian conception of the Earth-god.[299] Shamash and Adad are the two supreme gods of Divination in Babylonia and Assyria. It is, therefore, not surprising that, among the Aramaeans, Adad, Ramman, Ilumer, is often confused with the Sun-God Malak-Bêl, Yarhi-Bôl, or that Yāw of the Hebrews completely absorbed the character of the Sun-god El.

Among the Aramaeans and Phoenicians there is a deity Balshamîn, Balshameme,[300] "Lord of the Heavens." In Palmyrene inscriptions he has the titles "the good and rewarding god,"[301] and "lord of the world."[302] The Greek translation of Baʿal-shamîn on an altar from Tayyibe, north-east of Palmyra, is *Zeus megistos keraunios*, i.e., "Most mighty Zeus, Thunder(er)."[303] There is, therefore, no doubt but that Balshamîn is Adad. Plautus transcribes Baʿalshamim, the Phoenician form in Punic inscriptions, by Balsamem. The title occurs in inscriptions from Phoenicia,[304] among the Nabataeans of Hauran (south of Damascus),[305] in Sardinia,[306] and among the Arabians of the Hauran in the Christian period.[307] Since all these Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, and Ṣafaitic inscriptions derive from the late period, second century B.C. to the second century A.D., it was at first supposed that "Lord of the Heavens" revealed a monotheistic title of the great Semitic Rain and Thunder-god Adad, taken from the late Hebrew title of Yāw, *ēl haššamaim*, "god of the Heavens."[308] But this assertion, even when it was made, ignored the occurrence of this god already found among Phoenician deities in the time of Esarhaddon, and any monotheistic idea was invalidated by the occurrence of Baʿalsamin with the god Shaiʿhaqaum and the

goddess Lat in Ṣafaitic. Moreover Teshub, the Hittite Adad, has the title "lord of the Heavens and Earth" [309] in Accadian cuneiform treaties between the Hittites and Mitannians, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., and the Hittite Sun-god is called "lord of the Heavens" [310] in the same documents. A Palmyrene inscription renders Ba'alshamin by "Helios" in the Greek version,[311] and Syriac writers translate Zeus Olympios by Ba'alshamîn. Hesychius, the Greek lexicographer, renders Ramas, i.e., Ramman = Adad, by "Zeus hypsistos," but Philo Byblius identified *Kurios ouranou*, "lord of the Heavens" with Helios, the Sun-god. This title, Balsamin, therefore, began in the Hittite religion for both Adad and Shamash. The West Semitic peoples then use it as the name of the god of the Skies, either Adad or Shamash. This is only another example of the persistent confusion of these two Semitic deities.[312]

There is a legend of a certain Ahiqar, a wise scribe and counsellor of Senecherib, king of Assyria, preserved in an Aramaic source found at Elephantine in Egypt, of the fifth century B.C., which latterly became a subject of folk-lore throughout the ancient east.[313] In his old age Ahiqar lamented that he had no son to continue his services at the court of Assyria, and appealed to the gods to give him an heir that he might be trained in the philosophy and political wisdom with which he had so successfully served the Assyrian empire. According to the Arabic version of this tale he appealed to the "Most high god, creator of the Heavens and Earth," to give him a boy, that he might be consoled by him, and be present at his death to close his eyes and bury him. The Armenian version preserves a more polytheistic account of this part of the story. He went before the gods with offerings and prayed: "O my lords and gods, Belshim and Shimil and Shamin, ordain and give to me male seed." [314] The gods, however, refused his supplication, but ordered him to adopt his sister's son Nathan. The remainder of the story of Ahiqar does not con-

cern Semitic mythology, but the occurrence of Belshim in the Armenian version, who is clearly the Balshamîn and Balshameme of Aramaic and Phoenician mythology, as the first of the gods to whom Ahiqar appealed, proves how firmly this title of the great Semitic deity had supplanted the older name Adad in the late period. For Balshamîn has been found in Armenian sources outside their version of Ahiqar.

The Semitic word for "god," whose root is unknown, but common to all Semitic languages, is *ilu* (Accadian), *el* (Canaanitish, Himyaritic, Aramaic); strengthened triliteral[315] forms, Hebrew *elōah*, Aramaic *elāh*, Arabic *ilāh* (Himyaritic, North Arabic). In Accadian, *ilu* regularly represents Sumerian *digir*, *dingir*,[316] which is written with an ideogram meaning "high," "Heaven."[317] It seems plausible to assume that this Semitic general word originally denoted a Sky-god. It is difficult to suppose that in the oldest Arabian religion the word could have had special reference to the sun, for there the sun is feminine. But Semitic religion begins with the worship of sun, moon, and the planet Venus, and hence their word for "god" probably does mean "high," "heavenly."

This word, like *baʿal*, Accadian *bêlu*, became a specific name for a deity in Semitic religion. This is, however, a local and not a general aspect of their mythology, *ilu* never became the name of any special god in Babylonia, nor did *dingir* in Sumerian. The only instance of this in Babylonia is the use of the word Bêl for Marduk of Babylon. Wherever this title is employed in West Semitic religion Marduk is meant, never Enlil of Nippur; *dingir* and *ilu* are employed for specific gods only in the phrase, "his god" or "my god," where the word "god" refers to the special protecting deity of a Sumerian or an Accadian.[318]

Among the Aramaeans, Phoenicians, and Canaanites El seems to have become a special name for Shamash, due to the preponderant importance of this deity. The early Aramaic inscriptions mention the deity Rākib-El,[319] which defines El as a

Sun-god. These texts have four titles of the Sun-god or aspects of the sun in the same line, El, Reshef, Rākib-El, and Shamash.[320] El, Rākib-El, and Shamash occur together, and El occurs also in Sabaean with Athtar. Here El or Il is certainly used for the principal deity of the Sabaean pantheon, Ilmuqah, the Moon-god, in the sense of "*the* god."[321] El was the name of the principal deity of Gebal.[322] Sanchounyathōn has 'Elioun, and says that he was called Hypsistos, "most high"; this is the Greek transcription of the Canaanite word *'elyōn*, "most high," used as a title of the Hebrew deity, El, in the story of Melchizedek and Abraham, where El is apparently the god of Salem.[323] In later Hebrew mythology, when monotheism or complete syncretism of the deities Yāw and El prevailed, the title *elyōn* is also applied to Yāw. In the complicated scheme of the pantheon at Gebal, as handed down by Sanchounyathōn, Bêrouth was the wife of Elioun, and they begat Uranos (Heaven), and Gê, the Earth-goddess. There is, here, apparently a mutilated transformation of the Sumero-Babylonian pantheon at the head of whose hereditary scheme stand Anu and Antu, the Sky-god and his wife. Hypsistos was slain in conflict with wild beasts, and was deified. Sanchounyathōn, or the redactors of his original works, treats these deities as ancient heroes, after the manner of Greek mythology. The legend of the death of Elioun or Hypsistos is undoubtedly based upon the cult of Adonis of Gebal, whose wounding by a boar in the precipitous mountain valley of the Adonis River, which flows from Aphaca in the Lebanon and reaches the sea at Gebal, is one of the episodes in this cult.

From Uranos and Gê sprang Ilos, called Cronos, Betulos, Dagōn, and Atlas. Ilos or Cronos drove his father Elioun from the kingdom and founded Byblos (Gebal). The comrades of Ilos are called Elōeim in this source, a transcription of the Phoenician[324] or Hebrew *elōhim*, "gods." Ilos or El had a son Sadidus, whose name is apparently derived from Shaddai, a Hebrew title of El.[325] El is depicted as having been a cruel

tyrant of Gebal; being suspicious of Atlas, his brother, he cast him into a deep cavern and buried him, and for the same reason he dispatched Sadidos with a sword and severed the head of his own daughter. He married Astarte, Rhea, and Dione, daughters of his own father. Astarte was the Ba'alat or Beltis of Gebal. She and her brother El are the Aphrodite and Adonis of the most famous of all Semitic legends, which will be discussed in the Chapter on Tammuz and Ishtar. By her El had seven daughters called the Titanides, one of whom was married to Sydycos, who begat Asclepius, that is the Greek equivalent of Esmun, god of Sidon. In Sanchounyathōn's genealogy of the gods of Tyre, where Melqart-Hypsuranios corresponds to El of Gebal, Sydycos and (his brother) Misōr occur. These names are Greek transcriptions of the Semitic words *ṣedeq*, "justice," and *mîshōr*, "righteousness." Sanchounyathōn translates both names by adjectives, "the just" and "the easily freed." The Greek translation of Misōr has confused the verb *mashar*, "to let loose," with the noun *mîshōr*, which could not occur unless the Greek, or original Phoenician, writer was dealing with Babylonian names. Babylonian mythology has two attendants of Shamash, Kittu, who stands at his right, and Mîšāru, who stands at his left.[326] Mîshāru obtained considerable vogue in West Semitic religion, for he is repeatedly associated with Adad and his consort Shala.[327] At Erech he was worshipped in the temple of Adad.[328] Kittu appears in the Phoenician pantheon as Sydyc, either a West Semitic translation or from a Babylonian name which has not been found.

That El was the special name of the "Ba'al of Gebal," as he was called by the Egyptians, is proved by the emphasis laid upon this title by the inhabitants of that city in their proper names. El-ba'al, "El is lord," is the name of an ancient king.[329] In the Persian period names of kings of Gebal are Elpa'al,[330] "El has made," 'Ainel,[331] "Eye of El." He is often described simply as Ba'al, "lord," in names of Gebal, e.g., 'Azba'al, "Might of Ba'al,"[332] Yeharba'al.[333] On coins of

Gebal El is represented with six wings, two pairs extended from the back in flight, and one pair below, drooping at rest. Fig. 38, obverse, of the year 80 B.C., has the head of Astarte or Beltis of Gebal with mural crown, identifying her with Tychē. The reverse has the winged El, characteristic of coins of the period of the Seleucidae, from Antiochus Epiphanes onward. He holds a long wand or sceptre. Sanchounyathōn thus describes this deity: "He has four eyes, two behind and two before, two of which are closed in sleep. On his shoulders are four

FIG. 38. EL (RIGHT) WITH WINGS. OBVERSE (LEFT), ASTARTE

wings, two in the act of flying, and two reposing at rest. The symbol meant that while he slept he also watched, and while he flew he also rested." [334]

This myth, combined with the representation on the coins, proves that it rests upon the Babylonian conception of the course of the sun by day and his repose in the lower world by night. He is a Janus figure, and representations of this deity who looks both ways are as old as the age of the Sumerian priest-king Gudea of Lagash, and as late as the fifth century.[335] Fig. 39, a seal from Arrapha, shews the god Marduk with two heads looking right and left. These heads, however, have mythological faces, half bird and half animal, with grinning jaws. Apparently here the twin-demon Nergal type of Sun-god is represented beside the symbol of the sun, a four-rayed star in a circle,

supported by a staff. On another seal from Arrapha the two-headed monster has two wings and supports the same sun symbol.[336] Nergal, or the Sun-god, as a hostile deity of the sun's heat and of the lower world, is frequently called the twin god, and as such his names are Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea. His symbol on monuments is a pillar with two lion heads, *dos à dos*, looking right to left.[337] The winged sun disk in various forms begins to appear in the Cassite period and on seals of Arrapha it is frequent.[338] Fig. 40, from the top of a stele of Yehaw-melek,

FIG. 39. SEAL SHEWING TWO-HEADED MARDUK

king of Gebal, fifth century, shews this king in Persian dress, offering a libation to Astarte or Beltis of Gebal. A large sun disk of Assyrian type spreads out its wings above the scene. The goddess is here represented as the Egyptian Hathor.

The Janus nature of El of Gebal accords perfectly with Babylonian mythology. The Epic of Creation has the following description of Marduk:

> "Four were his eyes and four his ears.
> When he moved his lips, fire blazed forth.
> Four ears grew large,
> And the eyes behold all things even as he (Ea)."

The mythological conception of the winged Sun-god is also revealed in Hebrew poetry, where the idea undoubtedly sur-

vived from the earlier type of their own El or Elōhim. "Hide me under the shadow of thy wings," in a prayer to Yāw; "The sons of men put their trust in the shadow of thy wings," in a hymn to Him (as Elōhim);[339] Boaz welcomed the Moabite woman Ruth to his land and religion with the words: "Yāw, the god of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust"; a prayer to God (Elōhim) has: "I put my trust in the covert

FIG. 40. STELE OF YEHAW-MELEK FROM GEBAL

of thy wings."[340] The figure in these passages is commonly supposed to be taken from a bird protecting her young; this is clearly the simile in Deuteronomy xxxii.11 and Psalm xci.4. Mythology and simile are probably combined in Hebrew poetry; for there is no doubt but that Elōhim, Elyōn, Shaddai, which occur in some of these passages, are identical with El, the Sun-god of Phoenicia and the Aramaeans. El or Cronos of Gebal invented the scimitar[341] and spear. The scimitar is held in the hand of figurines of both the single- and double-headed Ashur, Sun-god of Assyria, found in

strata of the twenty-fourth century at the ancient capital of Assyria.[342]

The influence of Babylonian mythology upon El of the West Semitic races is unmistakable. He is both Shamash, the beneficent, and Nergal, the dreadful. As god of the lower world his name Malcandros appears in a myth preserved by Plutarch. This famous story, told or referred to in many Greek sources of the early Christian period, has been reconstructed by Baudissin. According to Plutarch,[343] Osiris, who had been treacherously put into a coffin by his brother Set and flung into the Nile, floated down the Nile and out into the Mediterranean Sea. The coffin finally drifted to the harbour of Gebal (Byblos), and was washed ashore. An *erica*-tree grew up suddenly and enclosed the coffin. Malcandros, king of Gebal, cut down this tree and used it as a pillar of his house, not knowing that it contained the body of Osiris. Isis, sister of Osiris, wandered up and down Egypt seeking her lost husband and brother. Somehow information came to her that his body was in the pillar of the house of Malcandros, whither she went and sat down by a well to weep. Astarte, queen of Gebal, attracted by her sorrow, and by the divine aroma which she had breathed upon the queen's handmaidens, received her into her house and made her nurse of her child. By night she fluttered about the pillar with mournful twittering. She finally revealed her identity and begged for the pillar, which they gave her. Having cut out the body of Osiris she fell upon it in loud lament, and returned with it to Egypt. The pillar she wrapped in fine linen, anointed it and gave it to Malcandros and Astarte. It stood in the temple of Osiris, i.e., Adonis, at Gebal even unto the days of Plutarch.

Malcandros or Malcander is clearly a title of El, derived from Malk-addir, "Malk the mighty"; the title Melk, Malk, "king," of the Sun-god, more especially of Nergal, has been discussed.[344] A king of Gebal in the Persian period was Adarmalk.[345] This is surely the same name as that of the god Adrammelek, whose worship was introduced into Samaria by

the Sepharvites in the eighth century, and to whom they burned their children in fire.[346] By a new interpretation of the inscription of Eshmun'azar of Sidon, a mythological passage in the curse against those who open his sarcophagus should probably read: "May they have no resting-place with the Shades, nor be buried in a grave, nor have son or seed in their stead, and may the holy gods imprison them with Malkaddir."[347] The conception of souls of the dead held captive in Hell by Nergal is Babylonian also.

The Hebrew deity El, whose character as a Sun-god has been repeatedly mentioned, and whose name occurs also quite regularly in the plural Elōhim, but employed as a singular, is the god of the Habiru, a people who appear in various kingdoms and local city dynasties of Babylonia and Assyria from the twenty-second century until the Cassite period, among the Hittites, and as an invading warlike tribe in Syria, Phoenicia, and Canaan in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries. I am entering upon debatable ground here when I assume that the Habiru and their god Ilāni (plural always written ideographically) are identical with the Hebrews and their god Elōhim. There seems to be no doubt at all but that this is the case; every argument against it has been specious and without conviction. Accepting this thesis, the Hebrews had served for six centuries as mercenary soldiers and traders among the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hittites, Mitannians, and Aramaeans before they entered and occupied Canaan; and, granted that their persistent use of *ilāni*[348] *Habiri*, "the Habiru gods," is, in reality, a singular like the Hebrew Elōhim, it follows that it is identical with the Hebrew god El, Elah, Elōhim. Phoenician also uses the word "gods" as a singular.[349] This is a common usage among Canaanitish scribes of the period of the Habiru invasions into Syria and Palestine. So, for example, Shuwardata of Kelte calls Pharaoh, "my god and my sun," in the text actually "my gods and my Shamash." A man of Qadesh in Northern Syria writes to Pharaoh attributing his defeat of the invading Habiru

to the fact that "his godhead" and "sunship" went before his face. Here the plural *ilānu* is used as an abstract noun, as is also the word "god Shamash." In Hittite the Habirite god is called *ilāni Ḫabiriyaš*, *Ḫabiriêš*, "Habirite gods." [350] That the Habirites, or, as I assume, the Hebrews, in the days of their wanderings in Babylonia, from the days of Abraham "the Hebrew" and Hammurabi (Amraphel), had a deity known to the peoples with whom they came into contact as "the Hebrew god," is proved by a list of nine gods and goddesses worshipped in the temple of Adad at the old capital of Assyria, in a text at least as old as the twelfth century. Here the singular, *ilu Ḫabiru* occurs, which I take to mean not "god Habiru," but "Habirite god," or, if *ilu* is here, as in *ilāni Ḫabiri*, a specific name of a deity, i.e., El, the "Habirite El." The genitive and accusative of this gentilic word is *Ḫabirî* and the nominative plural should be *ilāni Ḫabirû* or the "Hebrew Elōhim" in the texts of the Hittite capital, Boghazkeui.

There are no important myths in Hebrew religion concerning either of their two deities El and Yāw, but if the origin of the god Elōhim in the Old Testament can be explained as a direct survival of the Habirite *ilāni*, it is obvious that their long association with Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite religion explains the great Babylonian myths which appear in Hebrew mythology. The myths of Creation in Genesis i–ii, of Paradise and the Fall of Man (iii), and of the Flood (vi–ix), are admittedly of Babylonian origin, and all three in the Hebrew account are compiled from two versions in which Elōhim or Yāw appears respectively. It is extremely difficult to decide which of these sources is the older, but if the Habiru are the Hebrews, clearly those sources of these myths in which the deity Elōhim appears are the originals. Yāw, the Rain- and Thunder-god, appears to be a West Semitic deity unknown to them under that name until they entered Canaan. The meaning of this name being wholly unknown, but his identity with the god Adad certain, it is imprudent to reject

the supposition that it is not a purely Habirite or Hebrew word for the deity of rains, storms, and winds, and as old as the god Elōhim among them. There are purely Hebrew myths such as the communication of the tables of the law on Mount Sinai, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the plagues in Egypt, Balaam and the ass, Jonah and the whale, Samson and Delilah. The myth of the ten prediluvian patriarchs is Babylonian. Of all these only those of Babylonian origin confront us with problems of universal dimensions. In the Chapters on Sumerian and Babylonian myths these will be considered. The Hebrew national legends will be discussed in their proper connections. Here, in preparation for those Chapters, it is necessary to point out the reasons for the almost complete ascendancy of Babylonian mythology in the greater mythological documents of the Old Testament and the historical reasons for it.[351]

An important Phoenician deity was Eshmun of Sidon, identified by the Greeks with Asclepius, god of Medicine, whose symbol was the serpent. In the Greek sources he was the son of Sydycos, which we have seen to be a title of the Sun-god as "Justice." Sanchounyathōn, however, says that the Cabiri were descended from Sydycos, and that others, descended from these, discovered medicinal herbs, the cure of poisons and charms. According to others there were eight Cabiri of whom Esmounos was the last, and so certain Greeks derived his name from the Semitic word *shĕmōna*, "eight." [352] Others say that he, being beautiful, was loved by Astronoe, the Phoenician goddess and mother of the gods. While hunting in the groves he saw the goddess pursuing him; being hard pressed in the chase by the amorous goddess, who was about to capture him, Esmounos cut off his own genitals with an axe. In remorse Astronoe summoned Paeōn [353] and turned the youth into a god by generative heat. The Phoenicians, therefore, called him Esmoun because of the heat of life. This tradition is based upon the Semitic word *ēsh*, "fire," and some fanciful (?) explanation for *moun*.

In any case Damascius, by whom this story has been preserved, evidently means that Esmoun signifies "he who restores the heat of life," and, taken with the more ancient Phoenician source in Sanchounyathōn, it is clear that this deity was *par excellence* a "healer" of the sick, precisely as was his Sumerian counterpart Tammuz.[354]

The self-mutilation of Eshmun belongs to the category of myths concerning other gods loved by the Mother-goddess, and defines him at once as one of the dying gods of Semitic religion, like Adonis, Tammuz, and the Phrygian Attis. A distorted form of this myth, by which the comely young god, who is the incarnation of vegetation, knowing his inevitable death and descent to the lower world, rejects the love of the Earth-goddess and castrates himself in supreme sacrifice for the life of mankind, is told by Lucian concerning Combabus, at Hierapolis.[355] Eshmun is called Adōni, "My lord," or Adōn, "Lord," in Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus where his cult flourished.[356] A trilingual Latin, Greek, and Punic inscription from the island of Sardinia mentions an altar dedicated to Adōn Eshmun or Asclepius, with the Greek and Latin title Mērrē, corresponding to the Phoenician "Me'arrēh," if that is the reading,[357] which may mean "Wanderer." "Wanderer" would describe Eshmun as the young god who dies yearly with the corn before the sickle, and wanders in the lower world until his annual resurrection with the springtime verdure. Tammuz is also called in Sumerian "the wanderer on the plains of the lower world."[358] In the Sardinian text an altar is dedicated to Eshmun by one Cleon, because the god had healed him. It seems evident, therefore, that Eshmun, whose cult has been found also at Beirut[359] near Gebal (Byblus), is identical with the same type of dying god, Adonis of Gebal, whose cult was also firmly established in Cyprus.[360] For some reason this title *adōnī*, "my lord," became the peculiar title of the dying god of Gebal, and survived in its Greek form Adonis; the myths concerning him and his cult will be discussed in the Chapter on

Tammuz and Ishtar. At Gebal statues of three deities were found in the court of a temple of the Egyptian period, and these have been identified with Astarte, El, and the later Adonis or Eshmun.[361] The local name of the dying god of Gebal, son and lover of Astarte, is said to be represented by the Egyptian Khây-taou, god of the region of Gebal and the Adonis valley, on a seal of the sixth dynasty.[362] A suggestion that this word means " He who manifests himself as one warming " has been made by Professor Montet, and, if this be true, the connection with the name Eshmun as god of generative heat as suggested above is certain. Tammuz is often addressed in Sumerian as " my lord," " my hero," [363] and there is no doubt but that this entire cult of a dying god who descends yearly to the shades of the nether world, mourned with annual wailings by women, and in imitation of whose supreme sacrifice his priests emasculated themselves in the cults of Phoenicia, Phrygia, and Rome, is either wholly of Sumerian and Babylonian origin, or profoundly influenced by the Tammuz cult. In any case Christian writers state definitely that Tammuz was Adonis.[364] Jerome speaks of the cult of " Tammuz who is Adonis " in his own day at Bethlehem, where the lover of Venus was bewailed in a grotto.[365]

The ordinary expression characteristic of Tammuz wailings in Sumerian was *a kalag*, in Babylonian *wai iṭlu*, " Alas! O hero." The kings of Judah were bewailed at their death with the phrase *hoi adōn*, " Alas! O lord " (Jeremiah xxxiv.5), and it may be conjectured that the Phoenician and Canaanitish wailing for the dying god of vegetation was *hoi adōnī*, " Alas my lord." The original Phoenician pronunciation of this word was *adun*, and it belongs to the Phoenician and Hebrew vocabulary exclusively.[366] This appellative for the son of the Mother-goddess Astarte in West Semitic religion cannot be borrowed from Babylonia, nor is it likely that *hoi adōn* is a translation of *wai iṭlu*. The conclusion is that this cult of a dying god belongs to the oldest mythology of Semitic religion, or to Phoenician,

Canaanitish, and Aramaean mythology; it has already been noted among the Nabataean Arabians under Dusares, but cannot be traced in South Arabia. It belongs to the sphere of Semitic religion profoundly influenced by Babylonia. In its development it was essentially the Tammuz cult transplanted to Phoenicia. The plural *adōnim* like *elim* and *elōhim*, "gods," is also used as a singular in Phoenician, and, in the Old Testament, Yāw is constantly addressed as *adōnai*, "my lords," for "my lord," parallel to the Phoenician title *adōnī*. This title, "my lord," has been found in Phoenician with Eshmun only, and there is consequently hardly any doubt but that Adonis of Gebal is the same god. In Hebrew *adōnī* and *adōnai* appear to be exclusively used of the god Yāw, latterly in fact pointed with the vowels of *Adōnai*, as Yāhōwāh, Yehōwāh. There is clearly no mythological connection between Eshmun, Adonis, and the Hebrew deity Yāw,[367] who has been identified with Adad above.

FIG. 41. COIN OF ELAGABALUS. ESHMUN, "THE HEALER"

From the Roman period come coins with the figure of a youthful god who stands between two serpents. None of these can safely be attributed to Sidon, but the similarity to the Greek representations of Asclepius has convinced scholars that these depict Eshmun, "the Healer."[368] Fig. 41 shews one of these types from Beyrutus (Beirut), just south of Gebal. A coin of Sidon shews him leaning on a staff about which a serpent winds.[369] The serpent is symbolic of the generative and healing powers of the earth, and is associated with both the Earth-goddess and her dying son and lover in Sumerian, Babylonian, and West Semitic mythology. Ningishzida, one of the names of the young god as principle of arboreal life, in Sumerian mythology called the companion of Tammuz, is represented from early times with a serpent springing from each shoulder.

An omen of the Babylonians was that if a child was born with a head like a serpent it was a mystery sent by Ningishzida.[370] Both Tammuz and his mother bore the title *ama-ušumgal-anna*, "mother-great-serpent of Heaven," that is the serpent deity who emanated from the Heaven-god Anu.[371] The corn goddess Nidaba has serpents springing from her shoulders. A shrine of Astarte from Beisan has a serpent climbing upward along its front from a lower window (Fig. 15), and a curious vase with apertures, from her temple at Beisan, has two serpents twining in and out of them.[372] The Sumerians and Babylonians, as usual, made this aspect of the god and goddess of Vegetation and Healing into special serpent deities, but in West Semitic religion where this tendency to create a vast pantheon by deification of special aspects of nature did not obtain, there is no trace of a special serpent deity who is god or goddess of Healing.

Worship of the serpent deity, as god of Healing, that is Eshmun, must have been extremely popular in Canaan and Philistia. It was Yāw himself who directed Moses to set up a brazen serpent upon a pole, and those bitten by serpents were healed when they looked upon it.[373] This legend arose in the early days of Hebrew mythology to explain the worship of Nehushtan, a brazen serpent set upon a pole, a practice which survived until the reformation of Hezekiah.[374]

The last important deity, undoubtedly of Semitic origin, whose cults were so widely spread that he must be included in this sketch of their mythology, was Dagon or, as he appears in cuneiform documents, Dagan, Dagun. In him we have one of the few Semitic gods who represent the specific deification of corn and agriculture. He appears first in the Amorite or Aramaean kingdom, Mari, on the upper Euphrates, below the kingdom of Hana, whose capital was Tirqa, modern Ashārah, below the mouth of the Habur. The king of Mari in the days of Narâm-Sin (twenty-seventh century) was Migir-Dagan, "Favourite of Dagan"; Sargon, founder of the dynasty of

Agade worshipped in Tululi, and Dagan gave this famous Semitic king the lands of the whole upper Euphrates even to the Mediterranean sea-board.[375] By the martial aid of the weapons of Dagan, Narâm-Sin conquered the whole of the Phoenician coast and the Taurus region.[376] At an early period the Sumerians included him in their own pantheon, a distinction conferred upon no foreign deity after 2000 B.C. But here he was given only a minor position as attendant of the Earth-god Enlil.[377] Wherever the Semitic religion asserts itself in Babylonia and Assyria from the age of Sargon onward, and is not completely submerged in Sumerian orthodox forms, the god Dagan appears with persistence. This is particularly true of personal names of Semites at all times, from the period of Agade [378] onward and especially among the Western Semites, who founded the dynasties of Isin and Babylon.[379] No Sumerian personal name, in which Dagan is the divine name, has been found, although the name of a city in Sumer called Bit-Gimil-Dagan in the kingdom of Dungi is always written in ideograms,[380] and the personal name Gimil-Dagan is also occasionally written in Sumerian fashion.[381] Few names with Dagan have Accadian formations, such as Idin-Dagan and Ishme-Dagan, Iti-Dagan, Ṣilli-Dagan, Silush-Dagan, Nûr-Dagan. The majority have West Semitic verbal forms and meanings, as Yashub-Dagan, "Dagan turns back," i.e., repents of his wrath, corresponding to the Hebrew name Yashûb; Yashmah-Dagan, "Dagan hears"; Yawi-Dagan, "Dagan loves"; Hiṣni-Dagan, "Dagan is my strength"; Yahmu-Dagan, "Dagan protects (?)"; Yaṣṣib-Dagan, "Dagan establishes"; Sumu-Dagan; Nahum-Dagan, "Dagan is friendly." Of special importance is the name of Izrah-Dagan at Hana on the middle Euphrates, from which most of these names come, and where Dagan was one of the principal deities at an early period. This name means literally, "Dagan sows," and it furnishes one of the evidences on which the statement that Dagan was a corn deity rests.[382] It corresponds to the Hebrew Jezreel. Unfortunately the verbal root

has also a secondary meaning, " to beget," and both names may mean " Dagan begets," " El begets." The original name is, therefore, Dagān, and its Phoenician form Dagōn, as transcribed in Greek, followed the normal phonetic change, as in the Hebrew Dagōn.[383] The word is identical with the Hebrew and Phoenician word *dagan,* " corn," found in no other Semitic language, which agrees with all the Assyriological evidence that this deity is exclusively Canaanitish. Again the statement of the early Phoenician historian must be taken as authoritative. Uranus (Heaven) married his sister Gē (Earth), and had by her four sons, Ilos (El) or Cronos, Betylus, Dagōn, " which is bread-corn," and Atlas. And Dagōn, after he had discovered bread-corn and the plough, was named Zeus Arotrios, " Zeus the farmer."

In Assyrian mythology Dagan was associated with the Earth-god Enlil, and regarded as one of the deities who sat in judgment on the souls of the dead in the lower world with Nergal and Misharu, " the divine judges," and others in the " house of the ordeal." [384] He appears in cuneiform inscriptions as the principal deity of the ancient Canaanite and Aramaean centres of Mari and Hana between Hit and the mouth of the Habur on the Euphrates, including the Padan Aram and Harran of early Hebrew history. Shamshi-Adad I, king of Assyria, " worshipper of Dagan," built a temple to this god at Tirga, called Ekisiga, " House of sacrifices (to the dead)," [385] and Hammurabi, his great southern contemporary, conquered the province Mari to the south of Tirga by the might of Dagan " his creator." The three Semitic deities of this, the oldest Semitic centre whose mythology has been preserved not completely contaminated with Sumerian theology, were Shamash, Dagan, and Idurmer.[386] These are clearly the Sun-god, the god of Fertility, and the Rain and Thunder-god Adad; for the enigmatical *iturmer* or *idurmer* must be connected with Ilumer.[387]

In Fig. 42 is shewn the only statue of a god which can be safely regarded as the mighty Dagan of Semitic mythology.

FIG. 42. STATUE OF DAGAN

The dress is late Sumerian, and so is the posture of the hands; both dress and posture are those of a Sumerian at prayer. The full beard and moustache after the Assyrian style prove the Semitic character; the horned turban shews that it is a deity. Since it is dedicated to a god (whose name is broken away) by a governor of Mari under a king of Ur in the twenty-fourth century, and it carries a curse in the name of Ishtar, Dagan, and Enki against him who should destroy the inscription, it is well nigh certain that this is Dagan. Adopted into Babylonian mythology as a god of agriculture, he was said to sit in the lower world, where before him through all eternity the seven children of the infernal deity Enmesharra were kept in bondage.[388] Ishtar is described as " the creation and offspring of Dagan," in a Babylonian hymn,[389] which proves that he had been identified with the great Earth-god of Sumerian religion, Enlil.

The widely spread worship of Dagan among the Western Semites is proved by the statements of Hebrew writers. His cult appears in the far south of Philistia, at the coast cities Gaza and Ashdod. The Nazirite Samson, of whom a legend is told in Judges xiii–xvii, to explain the Hebrew custom of compelling men consecrated to the service of Yāw to be unshorn, met his death at Gaza. When he was brought, bound and blinded, into that city, the Philistines praised their god Dagōn (*elōhim Dagōn*). And a legend of the same period of early Hebrew history is told concerning " the ark of the covenant of Yāw," which they took from Shiloh and brought into their camp as they were pitched for battle against the Philistines. In the battle the ark of Yāw was captured and taken to Ashdod and set before Dagōn in his temple. Such divine power had the ark that, when the Philistines returned to their temple the following morning, the statue of Dagōn was found fallen on its face before it. Dagōn was restored to his place, but on the following morning his statue lay in fragments on the threshold; the head and hands were broken from the torso,[390] after the manner of statues found by excavators to this day in the temples

of Babylonia. It was to Ashdod (Azotus) that Apollonius, general of Demetrius II, fled after the battle with Jonathan, ally of Alexander Balas. He and the remnants of his army took refuge in the temple of Dagōn.[391]

According to the writer of 1 Chronicles x.10, the Philistines fastened the head of Saul in the temple of Dagōn, which must mean that they carried it away to Philistia; for the parallel passage, 1 Samuel xxxi.10, says that they fastened his body to the wall of Bethshan, where stood two temples, one to Ashtaroth and one to Reshef-Mikel.[392] It is certain that Dagōn has no connection with Mikel, and a temple of Dagōn at Bethshan is most improbable. The sources do not agree, but the variant adds emphasis to all the other references in Hebrew literature. Dagōn was the most important deity of Philistia. His cult in this region may be as old as that at Mari on the Euphrates, but the first reference to it is found in the name of a city king of southern Palestine, Dagan-takala, "Trust in Dagan," fifteenth century.[393]

Fig. 43. Coin of Unknown City. Supposed to Represent Dagōn

By falsely deriving Dagōn from the word *dāg*, "fish," Jewish rabbis of the Middle Ages described him as a Fish-god, having from the navel up the form of a man, but downward the form of a fish.[394] On coins of the northern Phoenician city Aradus (Persian period) a marine deity of the kind, which may have suggested this interpretation, occurs frequently.[395] Fig. 43 is a coin from some unknown city, supposed by some to come from Ashdod (Azotus), because of the abbreviated mint signature AZ, or perhaps Ascalon.[396] This coin is also of the Persian period and has a half human and half fish deity. On the Aradus coins he holds a dolphin in each hand by the tail, but on this coin he has the trident of Poseidon and a wreath. According to Jerome, Dagōn was the god of Ascalon, Gaza, and

all the cities of the Philistines. Whether the Philistines were of Semitic stock or not, their great deity Dagōn certainly was Semitic, and one of the great gods of the far flung occupation of western lands — Syria, Phoenicia, Philistia, Canaan, Moab, by that branch of the Semitic race.

In late Greek sources there is a myth concerning the great Syrian goddess Atargatis at Ascalon, where her name was corrupted to Derketo. Here a large pool full of fish in a temenos was sacred to her. She is described as having a woman's face and body to the waist, but the lower part had the form of a fish. Perhaps this myth was transferred to Dagōn, which would reinforce the erroneous myth taken from the derivation of the confusion of Dagōn with the word for "fish." It is certain that the Fish-deity on the coins of Phoenicia is not Dagōn, unless this erroneous myth had arisen already in the fifth century B.C. A monument of Nineveh, representing a minor deity fertilizing the date-palm, wearing a cowl and hood to represent a fish, has been repeatedly published in popular books as the god Dagōn.[397] Priests often clothed themselves in a garment in the form of a fish, when officiating in rituals of purification, symbolic of the power of the Water deity Enki of Eridu, god of Lustration. In the third register of Fig. 44 a man possessed of one of the seven devils, who appear in the second register, lies on a bed, and a priest, robed to represent the Fish-god Enki, stands at his head, another at his feet.[398] Two brick boxes, each containing seven terra-cotta figurines of the deity in fish robe, all apparently without horns on the cowl to indicate a deity, were found beneath the pavement of a late building at Ur.[399] These were laid down to invoke the protection of the Water-god. In religious texts they are called the images of the "seven wise ones," with bodies of fish. There are three types: (1) In their right hands they carry a "purifier,"[400] and in their left hands a water bucket. These were buried under the door-sill of the chamber of lustrations (*kummu*). (2) In their right hands they carry a date spathe, and their left hands are held to their

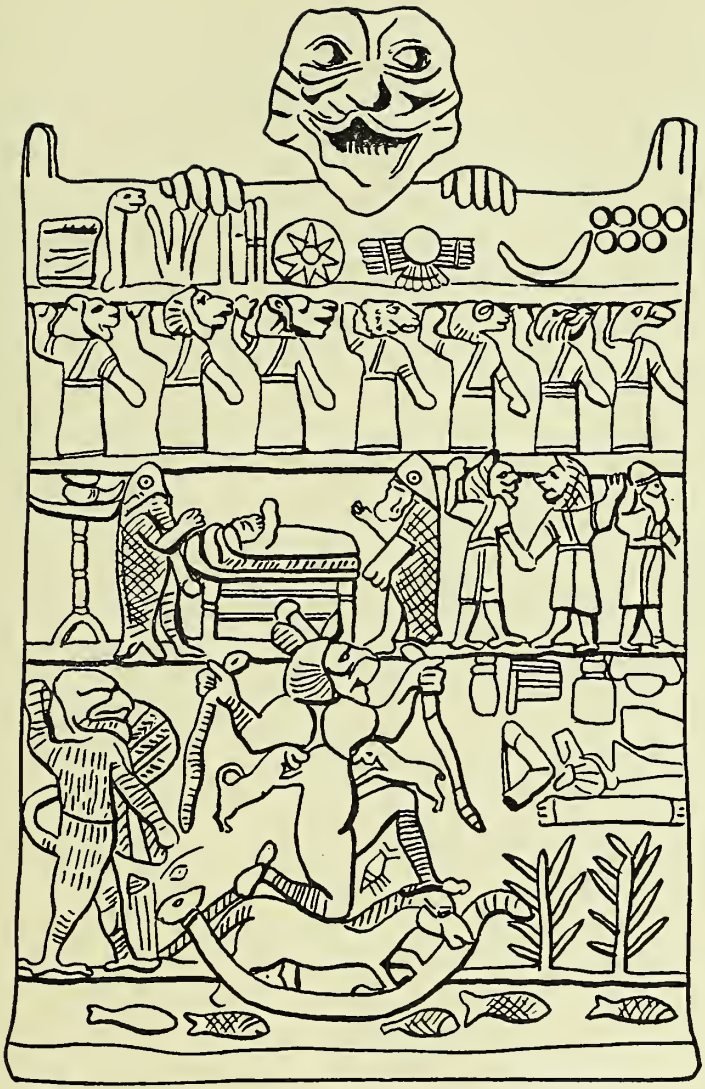

Fig. 44. Babylonian Bronze Plaque, Shewing Priest Robed to Represent the Fish-god Enki

breasts. These were buried opposite the gateway and behind the chair of the owner of a house. (3). In their right hands they carry a great spear, while they place their left hands on their breasts. These were buried in the centre of the house before the chair.[401] Late Assyrian seals have fish-men (Fig. 45) very similar to those which occur on the Phoenician coins of Aradus, and here two streams of water descend to them from a vase, or descend from them to a vase. This fish-man of Assyria is probably one of the dragons of Chaos, called Kulili, conquered by Marduk in the creation myth. He was identified with the constellation Aquarius. The fish-man of Phoenicia is certainly not Aquarius, but a deity of the coast cities. Since Anu, the Heaven-god in Sumerian, has the title Gula, and the constellation Gula was Aquarius, it is entirely possible that the fish-man on Fig. 45 represents a Rain-god, and in Phoenicia the fish-man would be naturally identified with the greatest god of their pantheon, Adad. At all events the representation of the god of Aradus is of Assyrian origin. There seems to be no connection at all between Adad, a Sky-god, intimately associated with Anu in Babylonia, and Dagōn, an Earth deity. Dagōn has been connected also with Odakōn, the name of the fish-man who, like Oannes, emerged from the sea in the time of the seventh prediluvian king to revéal to men science and letters. But this is impossible, and Odakōn is more likely the Graecized form of Uttuku.[402]

Fig. 45. Assyrian Cone Seal with Fish-men

In closing this survey of the more important deities who in various races can be surely described as of genuinely Semitic origin, special mention should be made of the preponderate

importance of the moon among the Semites of South Arabia, and the almost total absence of this cult among North Semitic races. Among the Northern Semitic peoples only one deity, who is surely a Moon-god, has been found, namely Agli-Bôl [403] of Palmyra in the late period. Even this local name for the Moon-god may be an Aramaic title and translation of some Babylonian aspect of the Moon-god of Harran. There is no North Semitic Moon-god at all who had in any way general acceptance in their religion. In the next Chapter, where the major Sumerian deities are discussed, the moon cult, which obtained considerable vogue in West and North Semitic lands in the late period, will be found to have been entirely of Babylonian origin. In contrast to South Semitic religion, the cult of the Sun-god is characteristic of Aramaic and Canaanitish religion.

CHAPTER II

THE SUMERO–ACCADIAN PANTHEON

THE Sumerian pantheon in variety and numbers exceeds that of both Greek and Roman religions combined. A simple list of their deities would fill a large volume and contain more than five thousand names. The Accadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians added a few minor deities to this enormous pantheon, but in the great scholastic period of Sumerian theology, the pantheon was reduced to a logical scheme (twenty-fifth to twenty-third centuries), the temple liturgies for daily use in the church calendar, for festivals and expiation rituals, appeared then in their final canonical forms. This pantheon and the liturgies and litanies which were based upon it, were accepted as sacred and canonical by the Semites of Babylonia and Assyria, and remained essentially unchanged throughout the temple worship of both kingdoms until the end of the Assyrian empire in 612 B.C. In Babylonia the adherents of this great religious system continued it unmolested by their Persian, Greek, and Parthian conquerors after the fall of the Neo-Babylonian kingdom in 538 B.C., and Babylonian editions of Sumerian temple liturgies, lists of gods, and myths were used and read as late as the second century B.C. It is this vast influence in time and space (for the West and North Semitic peoples were constantly in more or less intensive contact with and often subject to the mighty empires of Agade, Ur (Sumerian), Babylon, Ashur, and Nineveh) which so completely transformed Aramaean, Phoenician, and Hebrew mythology and religion. Any complete survey of Semitic mythology without Sumerian is impossible in our time, and in the discussion of the great pantheon, adopted by the Babylonians and Assyrians, the reader must bear

in mind that the author is presenting the pantheon of the greatest ancient Semitic people in Sumerian terms, as they themselves thought of it and believed in it.

The complicated Sumerian pantheon was obviously the work of theologians and of gradual growth. Almost all the names of deities express some aspect of nature worship, some personification of natural powers, ethical or cultural functions, perfectly intelligible to the Sumerologist. The names of their oldest trinity, An, "Heaven-god," Enlil, "Earth-god," and Enki, "Water-god," are not lost in the mysteries of folk-lore. They are names given to definite mythological conceptions by clear thinking theologians and accepted in popular religion. Whether they were called by other unintelligible popular names in the prehistoric period, when they wandered on the Iranian plateau long before 5000 B.C., is a question for which we have no answer. As it was evolved after their occupation of Mesopotamia, the pantheon is the product of theology and not of natural religion. The earliest written records from which any information concerning the Sumerian deities can be obtained is found twenty-five feet below modern plain level at Kish and at a prehistoric site, modern Jemdet Nasr, seventeen miles north-east of Kish,[1] and from a period *circa* 4000 B.C. On the prehistoric tablets only the trinity An, Enlil, Enki is found, possibly Babbar the Sun-god also. Since in their mythology all the gods descended from An, the Sky-god, it is extremely probable that the priests who constructed this pantheon were monotheists at an earlier stage, having only the god An, a word which actually means "high." This is to be expected, for we have here not a mythology springing from primitive religion, but speculation based upon nature, spiritual, and ethical values. The tablets are frequently covered with curious seals, but it is difficult to discover any mythology on them; wild and tame animals are frequent, especially the serpent, and some fantastic monsters,[2] and in one case there is a man holding a long serpent.[3] On one seal there is a design of a tower

rising by five stages to a smaller but higher top stage on only one side, which may possibly prove that they had already begun to build towers of this kind as symbols of the earth and sacred to the Earth-god.[4] It is obvious that the serpent was already regarded as symbolic of the generative powers of the earth in this very early period, but the Earth-mother goddess, whose primitive pictograph (Fig. 46) apparently represents a serpent winding around a staff, does not appear on the pictographic inscriptions which have been recovered.[5] On seals of the primitive period the Grain-goddess appears with a minor male deity (see Fig. 47), who is also a deity of vegetation. The latter may be Tammuz; he is here represented with a beard, but Tammuz is invariably described as a child or youth. Very primitive seals represent a male deity whose upper parts are human,[6] but whose lower parts are a long coiled serpent, undoubtedly the serpent deity Mush, whose

FIG. 46. PICTOGRAPH FOR EARTH-GODDESS

FIG. 47. GRAIN-GODDESS, WITH A MALE DEITY OF VEGETATION, PROBABLY TAMMUZ

Accadian names Sherah, "grain," "vegetation," and Shahan, "fire," clearly reveal his connection with the generative powers of the earth and the heat of the sun. However, one of the parasite Tammuz forms was Ningishzida a tree deity, who is invariably represented with a mythical serpent springing from each shoulder, and he too always appears bearded.[7] The cult of the

Earth-goddess and her son, the young god of vegetation, belongs to the early period. By giving special names to the diverse functions of each deity the theologians obtained an enormous pantheon, and by assigning special functions of the three great gods to their sons, and again giving special names to their functions, the parent tree became a forest of gods and minor deities. In addition to this, at an early period the constellations, fixed stars, and planets were identified with various deities. Astral names were, therefore, invented for each deity, which added a very large number of names to the pantheon. As soon as any given deity became patron of a special religious or intellectual activity, they received additional names for these activities. For example, the Earth-goddess, as female principle of An, received the title Ninanna, Nininni, Innini, but, as goddess of child-birth, Nintud, Aruru, Ninhursag, Ninkarraka, and as the planet Venus, Ninanasīanna, Ninsīanna, Ninsinna, Ninisinna, "Heavenly lady, light of heaven"; as patroness of medicine she was Gula. These are all regarded as separate goddesses in the cults and literature. Each of the great deities received as many as fifty to a hundred different names, and they had their attendants and courts in Heaven or in the lower world, wherever mythological fancy placed their abode. They had their musicians, messengers, counsellors, bakers, butlers, barbers, gardeners, throne-bearers, priests of sacrifices, watchmen, shepherds, commissioners, envoys, boatmen, sword-bearers, wizards,[8] gate-keepers, charioteers, etc.

Anu was the first of the gods of civilized man, descended through a line of divine beings, beginning with Apsu, the nether sea of fresh water, and Tiamat, the dragon of the ocean. This late theological speculation by which the gods and all things were created from water was certainly no part of the original system, which apparently was monotheistic to begin with, at least in the Sumerian religion as it has come down to us. The later speculative system is set forth at the beginning of the Accadian or Babylonian Epic of Creation.

"When on high the Heavens were not named,
And below a home existed not,
Apsû, the primeval, their engenderer,
And the 'Form' Tiamat, bearer of all of them,
Mingled their waters together;
The secret chambers were not constructed and marsh-lands were not seen;
When none of the gods had been brought into being,
And they were not named, and had not been assigned (their) destinies,
Then were created the gods in the midst thereof.
Lahmu and Lahamu were brought into being and they were named.
For ages they grew up and became lofty.
Anshar and Kishar were created more excellent than they.
The days lengthened and the years increased.
Anu their son, the rival of his fathers —
Anshar made Anu his first-born equal (to himself).
And as to Anu, he begat Nudimmud,
Nudimmud, begetter of his fathers was he."

In these seventeen opening lines the Epic on the origin of the gods according to later theories makes Anu the first actual personal deity; for Anshar and Kishar mean simply "host of Heaven," "host of Earth," or male and female creative spirits of what is above and beneath. From Anu descended the water deity Enki, latterly called Ea, "god of the house of the waters," who as creator of mankind received the title Nudimmud, "creator of the form of man." The Earth-god Enlil is nowhere described as the son of Anu.[9] His name means literally, "Lord of the wind"; for the winds were supposed to issue from the caverns of his vast abode in the nether world.[10]

The texts which first contain the fully developed early pantheon come from Shuruppak in southern Sumer, and from a period more than 500 years later than the pictographic tablets of Kish.[11] Not until this period does the Moon-god appear under the title EN-ZU, i.e., ZU-EN, latterly Sin, but his principal title is Nanna, which means "lord of Heaven," the same word as Ninanna, Innini. Here the Moon-god has already received the title, "Lord of wisdom," as a god of divination, Sin. The scribes of this early period place An, Enlil, Innini, Enki,

Nanna, Utu, in that order at the head of the pantheon, that is Heaven, Earth, Earth-goddess as female principle of Heaven, Water-god, Moon-god, Sun-god. The two sons of the Earth-god, Ninurta and Nergal, who figure so largely in later Sumerian and Babylonian mythology, do not yet appear by name; earlier titles of Ninurta, god of the spring sun, are already here, as Ningirsu and Ninsubur; while Lugalmeslam, "King of Meslam," i.e., of the underworld, and Gir, prove that the mythology concerning the terrible deity of summer heat and winter's cold, Nergal, was already part of their religion.

Above [12] I concluded that the Semitic word for "god" meant originally, "he who is high," a Sky-god; and here also I believe that their religion began with monotheism; they probably worshipped El, Ilāh, as their first deity, a Sky-god, corresponding to the Babylonian Anu, and the Greek Zeus. In Sumerian, the word for "god," *dingir*, also means, "shining," "bright," and the sign used for writing *dingir* also stands for An, the Sky-god; the word also means "high," "Heaven." An is the only Sumerian deity whose ideogram is never preceded by the determinative for "god." They write *dingir* Enlil, "god Enlil," *dingir* Sin, "god Sin," etc., but never *dingir* An. Surely this means that An (Anu) is not only older than other deities, but An was in the beginning "god," "the Sky-god." The ideogram for writing "god," "high," "Heaven," "bright," and for the god An, was the picture of a star. In the minds of the earliest Sumerians *dingir* Enlil, *dingir* Enki, etc., really mean An-Enlil, An-Enki, etc.; that is Enlil, Enki, etc., are only aspects of the father Anu. On seals of the pictographic tablets and on painted pots of that prehistoric period, the picture of a star constantly occurs.[13] This star sign is almost the only religious symbol in this primitive age. These facts cannot be explained without assuming monotheism in the beginning.

For the purpose of discussing the Sumerian and Babylonian myths it is not necessary or possible within the compass of a popular book to name and describe the prolific number of

deities. Only those on whose cults is built the main structure of their mythology are more specifically defined here. An, or as he shall be henceforth named in the Accadian form, Anu, had his principal cult at Erech where he was worshipped in Eanna, "house of Heaven," with the still more important virgin deity Innini-Ishtar. As father of all gods he remained in most distant contact with mankind, and is rather a theological principle than a cult deity. In a theological list (and in these lists of all periods Anu always stands at the beginning) his name is replaced by the Sumerian and Accadian words for "god."[14] According to the myth of Etana, Anu had his throne in the highest or third Heaven where Etana sought the magical plant of birth, and in the Adapa myth at the gate of Anu stood Tammuz and Ningishzida. Here Anu kept the bread and water of eternal life. From Anu descended the authority of kings at the beginning of political institutions upon earth.[15] The astronomers divided the fixed stars into three parallel bands called the "way of Anu," "way of Enlil," and "way of Ea." The band of Anu included those stars in what seemed to them the highest part of heaven along the ecliptic. The northern band was the "way of Enlil," and the southern the "way of Ea." As a constellation he was placed in the "yoke of the wagon star" among the northern polar stars, about which the firmament revolves.[16] At Erech each morning of the year sacrifices were made to the polar stars of Anu and his wife Antum, and from the top of the stage tower prayers were said to their constellations as they rose by night. A prayer to the polar star began, "O star of Anu, prince of the heavens."[17]

The myth of three Heavens was current in Babylonia and Assyria as early as the tenth century. The lowest Heaven was the sphere of the seven planets and was said to have been adorned with jasper.[18] The middle Heaven was the abode of the three hundred Igigi, or gods of the upper world, as distinguished from the three hundred Anunnaki, or gods of the

lower world. It was adorned with *saggilmud* stone, and here Marduk sat in a shrine of lapis lazuli, adorned with byssus and sapphire. This is the plane of the constellations of the three "ways" of Enlil, Anu, and Ea. In the highest Heaven sat Anu, wherein also the three hundred Igigi sat. It was adorned with *luludata* stone. It was here that Etana sought the *šammu ša alādi*, "plant of birth," that his wife might bear an heir to the throne of Kish. This legend of three Heavens reappears in the pre-Christian Jewish period, in the dream of Levi.[19] A

FIG. 48. GOD WITH OVERFLOWING WATERS

later legend of seven Heavens appears in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*.[20] Here Enoch ascended by seven stages on the wings of angels, and in the seventh Heaven found the throne of God.

The bread and water of immortal life, which Anu kept in the highest Heaven, is extremely ancient, and is referred to in Sumerian art by the overflowing vase, often held in the hands of a god, who has been identified with the god of Springs and Rivers (Enki, Ea) by many.[21] Fig. 48 is a good example of the god with overflowing waters, whom I take to be Anu with the waters of eternal life, from which Gilgamish fills his jar on this seal. The waters descend to figures of Capricorn and

Aquarius (see p. 86) and the latter constellation belongs to the "way" of Anu.[22] That the vase of overflowing water, often with a plant springing from it, belongs to the god who is throned in high Heaven, is proved by Fig. 49, from a bas-relief of Ur-Nammu of Ur. Here a winged angel descends from Heaven with the vase from which the waters of eternal life fall to a jar held in the outstretched hand of the pious king. The

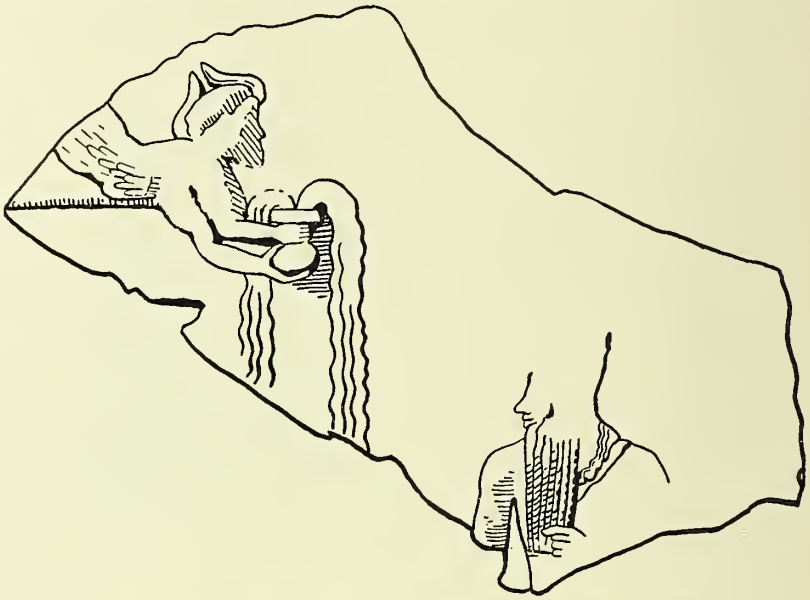

Fig. 49. Winged Angel with Water of Eternal Life

scene occurs at the top of both sides of this bas-relief on which other scenes represent him in prayer before a vase from which springs a palm with overhanging fruit; into it the king pours the water of Heaven, from the vase in which he had received it from the angel.[23]

An incantation for childbirth contains this same legend of angels descending from Heaven with jars of oil and water to lave the body of the "handmaid of the Moon-god," when in pain she bore the divine calf Amarga. This myth runs as follows:[24]

"Only 'cow[25] of Sin,' 'Maid of Sin,' is her name.
She was adorned with adornments,
She was luxurious in form. Sin saw her and loved her.
With the light of Sin, with a sheen(?) he provided her.
He caused her to have control of the herds.
They that are shepherded walk after her.
She rules over the plants as she waters them.
They give her water to drink abundantly at the watering place.
In the secret place of the herdsmen, where shepherds see not,
The restless young bull mounted the cow taking her virginity.
When her days were ended, her months completed,
The cow was in agony, she quivered in pain.
The shepherd, with bowed face, and all the herdsmen *wailed* for her.
At her wailing, at the cry of her travail, Nannar was aroused.
Sin in Heaven heard her cry, and lifted his hand to the Heavens.
Two female genii of Heaven descended, perfect ones; one bore an oil jar.
The second let fall water for travail in birth; with the oil jar she touched her face.
With water for travail in birth she sprinkled all her body.
A second time she touched her face with the oil jar.
With water for travail in birth she sprinkled all her body.
When for the third time she touched her,
The calf fell to the earth like a gazelle.
'Amarga'[26] he created, the name of the calf.
As the 'Maid of Sin' gave birth happily,
May this handmaiden who travails bear."

A tree, probably the *laurus nobilis* (*êru*), was sacred to Anu, and also the tamarisk. A staff of *laurus nobilis* was supposed to aid women in childbirth.[27] This myth of the water of life, bread of life, plant of birth, and probably that of the plant of life, also current in Sumerian mythology, is surely the origin of the manna in Hebrew mythology, said to be the exudation of the tamarisk. Yāw rained bread from Heaven, which the Israelites called *mān*, during their wanderings in Sinai; it must have occurred to a people familiar with this Babylonian myth to call the food so miraculously sent by nature, "bread from Heaven." The tree sacred to Anu was called *ma-nu* in Sumerian, and is persistently connected with the tamarisk and

date-palm in the texts. Not impossibly is the Hebrew term taken directly from this Sumerian word.

The angels who descended to aid Ishtar in the birth of her son Tammuz are confused with natural procreation of animals in the myth translated above; for in the myth of the birth of Tammuz, Ishtar is always a virgin goddess. This descent of angels seems to have given Isaiah the inspiration for his vision of the seraphim. When king Uzziah died he saw Adonai (Yāw) sitting on a throne high and lifted up, and over Him stood seraphim, each with six wings. "Woe is me! for I am

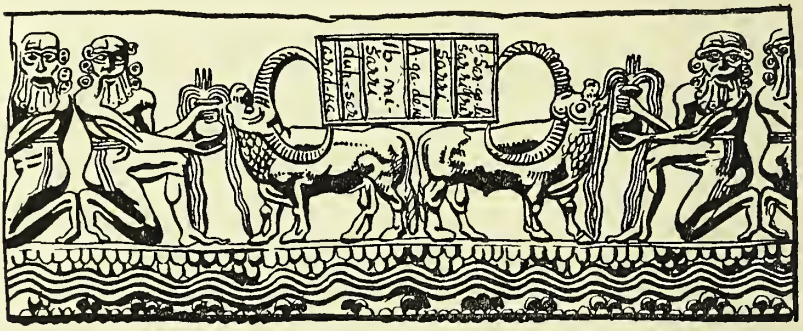

FIG. 50. GILGAMISH WITH JAR OF OVERFLOWING WATER

undone; because I am a man of unclean lips," said the prophet. One of the seraphim descended, having a live coal which he had taken with tongs from the altar; with this coal he touched the mouth of the prophet, saying: "Lo! this hath touched thy lips, thy sin is purged." [28]

The tamarisk was said to have been created in Heaven along with the date-palm,[29] and these are surely connected with the plant which springs from the overflowing jar on seals and monuments. The seal (Fig. 50) of Ibnisharri, dedicated to Shargalisharri, king of Agade, shews Gilgamish holding the overflowing jar of water from which springs the plant of life. From it drinks Gudanna, the bull of Heaven (p. 28). Gilgamish in Sumerian mythology was the deified hero, who, fearing death, sought for the plant of life in the island beyond the

seas. On seals he is repeatedly associated with the overflowing jar, and in one example the jar pours out water to him from the sky.[30] Anu's sacred number was "sixty."

Enlil the Earth-god was, strictly speaking, only the god of the upper world, in distinction from the underworld, where reigned the terrible goddess Ereshkigal. His name "lord of the winds" is taken from the myth of a cave of winds in the interior of the earth apparently, but in later times the control of the winds was given to the god Ishkur, Mir, Mur, identified with the West Semitic Adad, Ramman (see p. 61). This original character of Enlil as god of Storms and Rains is unmistakable. The world was thought of as a vast mountain (*kur*) and named Ekur, "house of the mountain," in the interior of which stood the *ḫursag* mountain, called also "mountain of Arallu." Hursag is described as the place where the winds dwell,[31] and a prayer has the following lines:

> "O great Enlil, *im-ḫur-sag*, whose head rivals the Heavens,
> Whose foundation is laid in the pure abyss,
> Who reposes in the lands like a furious wild bull,
> Whose horns gleam like the rays of the Sun-god."

Imhursag means "Wind of the underworld mountain." The stage tower of his temple Ekur at Nippur bore the name E-imhursag, and one of his titles was "Wind of the earth." Ningirsu, "lord of floods," was his son, and his father named him "King of the Storm of Enlil."[32] The functions of all his sons, Ninurta, god of War and *sol invictus*, the spring sun, Ishkur, Ningirsu, and Nergal, originally belonged to him, but in the later specialization of deities he, like Anu, has only abstract relations with men as the powerful deity of the earth. Rarely does he appear as an agricultural deity. "O my lord, the ploughshare thou hast caused to impregnate (the earth), the harrow thou hast caused to impregnate (the earth)."[33] In the liturgies he has almost exclusively the character of a terrible, wrathful god who brings disaster upon his own people

for their sins and upon the enemies of Sumer. The agent of his anger is always the " Word " which issues from his mouth, and goes though the world causing calamity, flood, hurricane, fire, pillage of cities, hunger, and exile. The word of wrath may be uttered by any one of his great sons, but it is primarily the prerogative of the " Earth Mountain " of Ekur. Anu has the beneficent angels of the waters of life. Enlil's messengers are those of vengeance and destruction. Their names are Kingaludda, Kengida, Uddagubba, and the Fire-god Gibil.[34] This myth found its way into Hebrew religion:

> " He sendeth his commandment upon earth;
> His Word runneth very swiftly." [35]

In late Jewish mythology the description is as terrible as that of the Babylonian liturgies:

> " Thine all-powerful Word leaped down from the royal throne,
> A stern warrior, into the midst of the doomed land,
> Bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned commandment.
> And standing filled all things with death." [36]

Every liturgy contained a hymn to this Word of Wrath; a good example is cited here from a lament on the destruction of Ur, where the disaster is attributed to the word of Nannar, the god of that city and son of Enlil.

> " In those days the spirit of wrath upon that city was sent and the city lamented.
> Father Nannar upon the city of master-workmen sent it and the people lamented.
> In those days the spirit of wrath *descended* upon the Land and the people lamented.
> Her people thou hast caused to sit outside her without water-jars.
> Within her reed *baskets were cast* in the ways and the people lamented.
> The great city gate and the highways with dead were *choked*." [37]

No Sumerian myth of any importance in a literary sense has survived, concerning Enlil,[38] although it is possible that to him

the Sumerians first attributed the creation of the world, an act latterly attributed to his son Ninurta, and by the Babylonians to Marduk. This myth seems to have survived in only one passage of a hymn:

"The foundation of the Heavens thou hast made and no hand shall undermine it.
The vault of the Heavens thou hast made and none can ascend it." [39]

Throughout Babylonian mythology there persists a legend of the "Tablets of Fate" which originally belonged to Enlil, and concerning their theft by the dragon Zû the following myth has been preserved in Accadian. It existed in a Sumerian original, as is proved by one of the tablets of the series.[40] The storm dragon Zû saw the royal power of Enlil, the crown of his sovereignty, the robes of his divinity, and the Tablets of Fate in his possession.

"He conceived in his heart to seize the Enlilship,
(saying) 'I will take possession of the Tablets of Fate of the gods,
And I will control the orders of all the gods.
I will occupy the throne and be master of decrees.'
He waited at the entrance of the throne-room, which he saw, at daybreak.
As Enlil washed himself with clean water,
And had mounted the throne, and put on his crown,
The Tablets of Fate he seized in his hand,
He took possession of Enlilship, the 'casting' of decrees.
Zû flew away hastening to the mountains."

This was a supreme disaster for the gods. The laws which govern the universe had been written on tablets in the conclave of the gods and worn on the breast of the supreme ruler of the world. Silence fell on all and they turned to Anu their father and counsellor, who said to his sons:

"Who will slay Zû and
Make glorious his name among the habitations?"

First he summoned his son Adad who refused to follow the dreadful dragon; for "Who is like Zû among the gods, thy

sons? " He then summoned another god (whose name is broken away), and still a third god, Shara, both of whom refused in the same words. This part of the myth is parallel to the scene in the Epic of Creation, where Ea, Enlil (?), and Anu also feared to attack the dragon Tiamat. Finally it was the god Lugalbanda, or Ninurta, the son of Enlil, who found the nest of Zû in the fabulous mountain Sâbu, and by the aid of the Wine-goddess Ninkasi rescued the Tablets of Fate.[41] It was also Ninurta, who, in the Sumerian myth of creation, slew the dragon of chaos.

Apparently the Tablets of Fate originally belonged to Tiamat, the female dragon of the sea, before the earth was created. She gave them to her chief supporter Kingu in her conflict with the gods. According to the Babylonian version, it was Marduk, who destroyed Tiamat and bound Kingu, who bore the Tablets of Fate on his breast. These Marduk took from him and ever after kept them on his breast. Ninurta is called the smiter of Zû in the Babylonian legends. The Tablets of Fate of the gods were written for each year in the assembly hall of Enlil, the Ubšukkinna, in the conclave of gods at the beginning of the New Year, a myth latterly transferred to Marduk of Babylon. Nabu, scribe of the gods, was said to carry them. The name Enlil survived in western sources only in the account of Babylonian theogony by Damascius, a Syrian, who became head of the Neo-Platonic school at Athens, end of the fifth century A.D. His theogony is based upon the Babylonian Epic of Creation. Enlil was never known as Bêl by the Babylonians.[42]

Of more importance for mythology is the third member of the original trinity, Enki of Eridu at the mouth of the Euphrates. The name means " Lord of the earth," by which is meant the lower world where dwell the Anunnaki in the Apsu, or sea from which the Sumerians supposed fountains and rivers to spring. He was essentially the god of fresh water, and consequently he and the Eridu theogony, Marduk, Gibil, are deities

of lustration. The title *é-a*, " god of the house of water," does not appear until the period of Dungi of Ur, and henceforth became the favourite name, almost invariably employed by the Accadian texts in bilingual inscriptions for the Sumerian title Enki. The Greek writers knew only this title, which appears as 'Aos in Damascius, and 'Ωαννης (Oannes) in Berossus. The latter Greek writer, who was himself a Babylonian priest of Bêl-Marduk in the age of Alexander, reports the following myth. In the remote past, before the Flood, men lived in lawless manner like beasts of the field. Then appeared Oannes from the sea. He had the body of a fish, and under the fish's head he had another head, but his feet were like those of a man, subjoined to the tail. He passed the day among men, and taught them letters, science, arts, laws, construction of cities and temples, and geometry. He also introduced agriculture and all which would soften their manners and humanize their lives. Since that time nothing has been added to improve upon his instructions. By night he retired into the sea. According to one excerpt of Berossus (Alexander Polyhistor) this revelation occurred in the time of Alorus (Sumerian Alulim), the first of the ten pre-diluvian kings, but Apollodorus reports Berossus to have placed it in the reign of the fourth king Ammenon. Altogether Oannes is said to have made four appearances as a fish-man at intervals of enormous duration exceeding thirty thousand years, each time in a different reign.

A description of Ea as Lahmu of the sea, which was current as late as the age of Berossus, has been preserved in Assyrian. " The head is that of a serpent; on his nose are depicted . . . ; from his mouth drips water; he is provided with . . . like a sea-serpent; thrice are his . . . ringed; he is provided with . . . on his cheek; his body is a skate fish and encrusted with stars; the claws of his feet are his soles, which have no heels." [43] Ea is the Sumerian patron of arts and philosophy, and his cult at Eridu represents one of the two great schools of Sumerian

and Babylonian theology. Here they taught the philosophy borrowed by Ionian philosophers, namely that all things emanated from water, and came into existence by the creative Word, Mummu of Ea.[44] To him the Sumerians of the Eridu school attributed the creation of man from clay, "Lord of mankind, whose hand fashioned man."[45] One of their myths has this version. The gods created Heaven and Earth, and all creatures with the breath of life, and then the god Ninigikug (= Ea) created two small creatures whom among living creatures he made most glorious.[46]

Another prayer recited at the restoration of a temple has this myth:

"When Anu had created the Heavens,
And Nudimmud (Ea) had created the Apsu as his abode,
Ea gathered clay from the Apsu and
Created the god of Brick-making (Kulla) for the restoration (of temples).
He created cane-brake and forest(?) for the work of his creation(?)
He created the god of carpenters, moulders, and Arazu, as completers of the work of his creation(?).
He created the mountains and the seas for . . .
He created the god of goldsmiths, smithies, jewellers, and sculptors for the deeds of . . .
and their rich produce for offerings . . .
He created the Corn-goddess, the goddess of Flocks and
Wine, Ningishzid, Ninsar . . . as those who enrich the fixed sacrifices.
He created Uduntamkur and Uduntamnag, they who support the offerings.
He created Kugsugga, mighty priest of the gods, as the executor of the ritual orders.
He created the king as a restorer of [holy places]
He created man as the maker of . . .[47]

Ea was the god of all mystic learning and the Mummu or creative Word, Logos, which made all things, and fashioned the things begotten.[48] The doctrine was applied by the Alexandrian author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* to the Hebrew god Yāw:

"Oh God of the fathers, and Lord who keepest mercy,
Who madest all things by thy Word,
And by thy Wisdom thou didst form man." [49]

He was regarded as the god of the Tigris and Euphrates, of rivers and fountains. As such his title is Engur, an ordinary word for "river," and in rituals of purification the River-goddess is addressed in the following mystic hymn:

"Thou River, creatress of all things,[50]
When the great gods dug thee, on thy bank they placed
Mercy. Within thee Ea, king of the Apsû, built his abode.
They gave thee the Flood, the unequalled.
Fire, rage, splendour, and terror,
Ea and Marduk gave thee.
Thou judgest the judgment of men.
O great River, far-famed River, River of sanctuaries,
Thy waters are release; receive from me prayer." [51]

In the theological lists Enki has numerous titles as patron of the arts. Dunga and Lumha are Ea of singers and psalmists. This myth reappears in Hebrew, in the early document concerning the patrons of arts, where Lamech = Lumha is said to have been the father of three sons, Jabal, patron of tents and flocks, Jubal, of music, and Tubal-cain, of the forge. Ninbubu is Ea of sailors, Nindubarra of shipmenders, Nurra of potters. There are thirty-six titles of this kind in the official list.

The conception of his form which seems to have been most prevalent in Babylonian mythology is that of the monster called Darabzu, "Antelope of the nether-sea" in the official lists, and Kusarikku, "fish-ram," or Suhurmashû, "skate-goat," in popular mythology. The latter names agree with the description of Oannes, preserved by Berossus, and with the emblem of this god on the monuments, usually a composite creature, with fore-parts of a goat and body of a fish. A good example of this symbol is seen on Fig. 51, first register, where the trinity Anu, Enlil, and Ea stand in a row, Anu and Enlil being represented by tall horned turbans resting on a throne, and Ea by the goat-

fish, which also supports a low throne.[52] On this throne stands also a symbol of Ea, a pillar with ram's head. The names Kusarikku and Suhurmashû were also used for Capricorn and one of the monsters of chaos in the train of the dragon Tiamat. Images and bas-reliefs of this "antelope of the Apsû" must have been common; Berossus, describing the fish-man Oannes, says that a likeness of him had been preserved even to his day, and it may be that the fish-man on Phoenician coins was derived from this type of Oannes. Images of the fish-ram of the deep to represent Ea were made by the Sumerians, and Gimil-Sin, king of Ur, promulgated a date by the formula, "Year when the ship of the antelope of the Apsû was completed."

The principal *rôle* of Ea in mythology is as a god of purification in the water rituals, called rituals of the "house of baptism," and "house of washing," all of which belonged to a great Sumerian series called *en é-nu-ru*, "Incantation of the house of Nuru," taken from the title of Ea, Nunurra. In these rituals there occurs a myth introduced by the priesthood of Babylon, in which Ea, after learning of the wicked machinations of the seven devils, sends his son Marduk to expel them by magical operations. A good example occurs in the sixteenth tablet of the series called *udug ḫul-meš* or in Accadian *utukkê limnûti*, "the evil devils." Here the object of the long series of incantations is to defend the king and the nation against the malign influences of the seven devils during the three days of the moon's eclipse. The astronomers discovered that the period of the dark of the moon was due to natural laws, but the explanation was that the seven devils had invaded the vault of Heaven and surrounded the Moon-god, obscuring his visage.

"Enlil saw the eclipse of the hero Sin in Heaven, and
The lord hailed his messenger Nusku.
Tidings of my son Sin who in Heaven has been woefully darkened,
Repeat to Ea in the Deep.
Nusku gave heed to the word of his lord.
To Ea in the Deep he set foot quickly.

FIG. 51. BOUNDARY STONE OF MELISHIPAK. CASSITE PERIOD, TWELFTH CENTURY, B.C.

To the prince, the far-famed 'leading goat,' the lord Nudimmud.
Nusku repeated the word of his lord straightway.
Ea in the Deep heard this matter.
He bit his lip and his mouth was filled with woe cries.
Ea called to his son Marduk, informing him of the matter.
Go, O my son, Marduk.
Of the princely son, the Crescent Sin, woeful is his eclipse,
His eclipse in Heaven has been brought about.
The seven evil gods, the slayers, fearless are they.
The seven evil gods like a cyclone went forth and enter the Land.
They have come up against the Land like a storm,
And the front of the crescent of Sin wrathfully they surround.
The hero Shamash and Adad the heroic they have turned to their side."

Here as usual in these texts follow directions for the magic ritual. The priests entering upon their rituals to drive out demons say:

"I am a man of Enki,
I am a man of Damgalnunna,[53]
I am the messenger of Marduk.
To heal his sickness
The great lord Enki (Ea) has given me warrant.
His holy curse he has put with my curse.
His holy mouth he has put with my mouth.
His wizardry he has put with my wizardry.
His intercession he has put with my intercession.
Verily that which is in the body of the sick man devastates the sanctuaries.
By the incantation of Ea may these wicked ones be expelled." [54]

Few prayers to Ea have survived in Sumerian and Accadian. One long Sumerian hymn glorifying his temple and cult at Eridu describes him as "creator of fates," "who causes peoples to spring up like grass." [55] An Accadian prayer to him under the title, "Enlil of intelligence" (Enlilbanda), begins:

"King of Wisdom, maker of intelligence.
Far-famed leading goat, adornment of the 'House of the Deep.'
Enlilbanda, the skilled, the protecting angel.
Valiant one of Eridu, adviser of the Igigi.

. . . . . .

To the great gods thou givest counsel.
O Ea, by thy incantation of life, raise the dying."

This deity is invariably described as the friend and saviour of men, and there are no references in all the vast religious literature to his anger and vengeance, except where he is included with other gods and invoked to destroy those who violate contracts.[56]

For this reason the mythical being called the fish-ram obtained the title *karubu*, rendered above by "protecting angel." The Accadian word was undoubtedly borrowed in Hebrew mythology as *kerūb*, "cherub." The word has strictly speaking the meaning "one who is favourable," "who is benign," "who intercedes for," and images of them were set at the gates of temples and palaces to place these under the protection of the mighty god of wisdom and mystic powers. Asarhaddon placed images of lions, the murderous Zû, Lahmu, and the god Kuribu at the entrances to the gates of the temple of Ishtar in Arbela.[57] These were all, in reality, monsters of chaos, identified with constellations, subdued by Marduk and made to serve the gods. Kuribu, Karubu, or Karibu, the mythical being of Ea, serves in mythology as the fish-ram, symbol of the god of the Deep, and also as Capricorn.

In religion and mythology, of even greater importance than these three heads of the trinity, Anu, Enlil, and Enki, is the Sumerian Mother-goddess, whose character was so manifold that she became many distinct goddesses. In Chapter I the paramount importance of the Earth-goddess Astarte among all the West Semitic races was emphasized. Babylonian religion caused a profound revolution throughout the West in the name and gender of the Arabian and original Semitic goddess of the planet Venus. The great and ubiquitous cult of the virgin Earth-goddess in Canaan, Phoenicia, and Syria seems to have been entirely borrowed from Babylonia. As already suggested, the primitive name of this Sumerian goddess seems to have been Ninanna, Innini, "Queen of Heaven," but the pictograph first used to write her name represents a serpent twining on a staff. The name probably rests upon the primitive identification with

the planet Venus, and upon the theological principle that she was created by Anu, the Heaven-god, as his female counterpart. Three main types of the Earth-goddess, together with their minor manifestations, are clearly recognizable, Innini, the Semitic Ishtar, Mah, " the mighty goddess," Accadian Bêlit-ilî, " Queen of the gods," and the underworld goddess Ereshkigal.

The order in the official Assyrian theogony places the Earth-mother-goddess *dingir-Maḫ* immediately after the Earth-god Enlil, and she was in fact his sister. The supreme importance of this goddess is obvious by the place and nature of her symbol among the emblems of the gods. On Fig. 51 her throne follows those of the trinity, Anu, Enlil, Ea, and supports a curious object, a broad band shaped like the Greek letter Ω, Omega inverted. On one throne, where it follows the symbols of Marduk and Nebo (first two symbols in third register here), this band lies flat on the throne, with ends coiled inward, not outward as here. On other monuments the Omega symbol stands alone without a throne, and in a position exactly like Omega. This symbol is called *markasu rabû*, " the great band " of the Esikilla, " holy house." [58] The word *markasu*, " band," " rope " is employed in Babylonian philosophy for the cosmic principle which unites all things, and is used also in the sense of " support," the divine power and law which hold the universe together. It is employed more often of the god of the first principle, water, Enki-Ea, and of his sons Marduk and Nebo. Ninlil, wife of Enlil, frequently identified with Mah, ruled the constellation Margidda, Ursa major, the wagon star, which was also called the " band of the Heavens," because it remains fixed at the pole of the Heavens.

After the multifarious activities of the Earth-goddess were apportioned to the three major types, for Mah or Bêlit-ilî was reserved in particular the protection and increase of animal life. She it was who, in the teaching of the great theological school of the cult of Enlil and Ninlil of Nippur, created man from

clay, and her salient character is the goddess of Childbirth. Under a minor form (Gula) she became the patroness of medicine. Essentially an unmarried goddess, her minor types, Bau, Gula, became wives of the sons of Enlil, Ningirsu, Ninurta, as Erishkigal became the wife of Nergal, son of Enlil. The official pantheon gives forty-one names for *dingir-Maḫ*, among which the scribes indicate five as the most important. These are Ninmah, " Mighty queen," Ninhursag, " Queen of

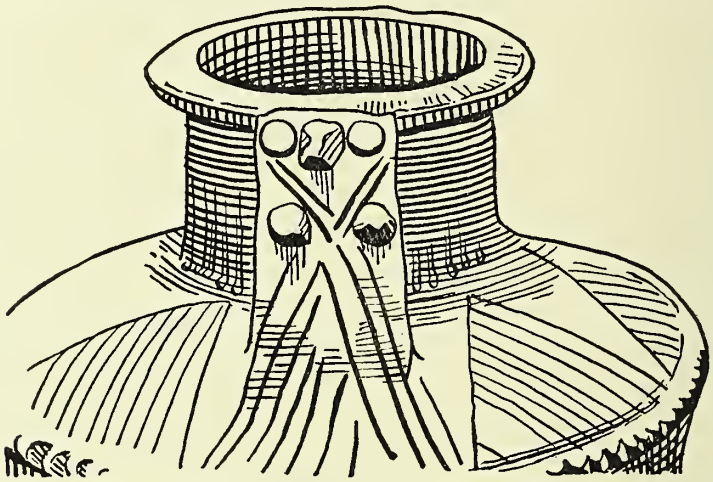

Fig. 52. Top Portion of a Water Jar in Grave of the Palace at Kish

the earth mountain," Nintur (dialectic Šentur), " Queen, the womb," Ninmea, or Nunusešmea, " Queen who allots the fates," and Ninsikilla, " the pure Queen." Under the last title she was wife of her son Nesu (dialectic Lisi). The god Nesu is known almost entirely by his star Antares in Scorpio, which was also identified with Nebo.

Among other titles which appear in the myths are Aruru, Nintud, " Queen who bears," Amatudda, " Bearing mother," Amadubad, " Mother who opens the lap (womb)," and Mama, Mami. It is extraordinary that the theological lists give her a husband by name Shulpae, in reality a name of Marduk as the planet Jupiter. Every city had a temple, usually named Emah,

or at least a shrine to this goddess, but her principal cult centres were Adab and Kesh in southern Sumer, and at Kish (near Babylon), said to have been the first city founded after the Flood, and certainly the oldest Sumerian capital. Here her temple was named Hursagkalamma, restored by Nebuchadnezzar with enormous proportions, and relics of her cult are found at great depth beneath the plain here. At one period the dead were provided with large water-jars which bore broad handles with rude busts of this goddess of Birth and Healing. See Fig. 52. When Merodachbaladan restored her temple at Hursagkalamma (a name given to this part of Kish), he addressed her: "Ninlil, great queen, far-famed queen, merciful mother, who sits in the house of the world, the revered." A description has been preserved, which does not entirely agree with the very human and beautiful figures of her, found abundantly in nearly all periods in Babylonia, especially at Kish.[59] Although these figurines do not have the head-dress of a goddess, the frequency with which they occur at her principal cult centres, establishes their identification with Ninmah, Aruru, or Ninhursag.

Fig. 53. Figure of Mother and Child from Late Period

An Assyrian text describes her as follows: "The head (has) a turban and . . . ; she is provided with knots on the turban like earth flies; with a . . . and her hand is human; she binds on a waist-band, leaving her breast open; in her left arm she carries a child, which feeds at her breast; with her right arm she caresses it; from her head to her waist-band she has the naked body of a woman; from her waist-band to the soles she is covered with scales like a serpent; her navel is placed in a waist-band." [60]

References to Mah as she who gave birth to man, in the

sense that she created him from clay, are numerous in mythology. In this sense the texts usually employ the title Aruru. A bilingual poem, in which the traditions of the Eridu and Nippur school were combined, describes the creation of the world as follows:

"All the lands were sea.
When the interior of the sea was a well,
Then Eridu was made and Esagilla [61] created.
Esagilla, which in the Deep, the "King of the Holy Chamber" [62] inhabited.
Babylon was made and Esagilla completed.
The gods, the Anunnaki, together made (them).
The holy city they named 'Abode of the joy of their hearts.'
Marduk assembled wicker-work on the face of the waters.
He created dust and heaped it up with the wicker-work
To cause the gods to dwell in the abode of the joy of their hearts,
Mankind he created.
Aruru with him created the seed of mankind." [63]

This is a late Babylonian version of creation in which Marduk replaces Enki-Ea. In a myth of the destruction of mankind by drought, famine, and pestilence, it was Mami who recreated men from clay at the command of Ea. She is here called "Mother womb, creatress of destiny." [64] Having uttered an incantation over clay, she placed seven pieces of clay at her right hand, and seven at her left; between them she put a baked brick. These became seven and seven childbearing wombs, seven creating males, and seven creating females. She designed them in her own likeness.[65] The same myth describes in the next episode how a deluge destroyed mankind, and Mami, summoned by the gods, was told to "create *lullû* [66] that he bear the yoke." As in the myth translated above, man was necessary to the happiness of the gods. In this episode, preserved only on a fragment from the old Babylonian version, Mami made man from clay and Ea charged the gods to slay a god that Ninhursag might mix the clay with his flesh and blood.[67] Another text says that Anu wept when the demoness Lamaštu destroyed children with plague, and Aruru-Bêlit-ilî's

eyes flowed with tears, saying, " Why should we permit those whom we created to perish? " [68]

The myth of the Mother-goddess and her son and husband who died yearly and descended for a time to the underworld to be rescued and restored to his wife and mother, generally appears in Sumerian and especially Babylonian religion at Erech in the cult of Innini and Dumuzi, Ishtar and Tammuz, but the older form of this myth in Sumerian seems to have been associated with the cult of Nintur, Ninhursag, Aruru, and her son and husband Nesu. It is perhaps a coincidence that the ancient pictograph for *tur* consists of the pictures for right and left hand, and that Nintur = Mami created men from pieces of clay at her right and left hand.[69] The sign *tur* certainly means " bearing womb " in Nintur, " Queen of the womb," and the same sign developed a form read *lil*, " feeble," " decrepit," also the word for " man," *lil*, Accadian *lilû*, *lullû*, who was created from clay by this goddess. The same sign has the meaning " ill," " pain," " sickness " (*tur*), and her son, the dying god, is described in one hymn as *mu-lu-lil*, " the feeble one." It seems, then, that the most ancient titles of this goddess refer to her having created man and to her having borne the dying god. Man, the mortal one, whose life-blood and flesh sprang from a god himself, walks forever in the shadow of death, as does his divine brother the god Lil, or Nesu.[70] A Sumerian hymn also speaks of the dying god as the brother of Nintur — Ninhursag:

" How long, O my brother, O son of Gashanmah?
For my brother I utter lament, utter lament, utter lament always.
I utter lament, a chant of woe for the hero.
I repeat, ' how long,' I repeat ' how long,' ever repeat ' how long.'
O hero, thy mother repeats ' how long.'

. . . . . .

She cries, ' O my son, whither shall I entrust thee?
O my brother, from thy resting-place arise, thy mother seeks thee.'

. . . . . .

The brother to his sister replied,
' Deliver me, O my sister, deliver me.

The place where I lie is dust of the earth; the slayers repose there.
Restless is my sleep, the wicked dwell there.
O my sister, where I sleep I rise not.
May my mother, who seeks me, free me from imprisonment.' " [71]

In this text Lil imprisoned in Arallu is restored to the world by a magic ritual in which a couch is prepared for his soul. Throughout this text the Mother-goddess as his sister has the name Egime, the *a-tur* (*tūr*), and his mother, Ninhursag. Apparently the god Shulpae (= Enlil) is assumed to be the father of the dying god in this text, which is contrary to the entire contents of the myth, where a virgin birth is always presumed. In the theological lists pertaining to this myth of Nintur and Lil, the names Lillu, Nesu, and Ašširgi occur for the son of the goddess Mah.

Not only did the Sumerians and Babylonians believe that Aruru, Nintur, etc., had created man from clay, but when circumstances required, she was summoned by the gods to create a man for some special purpose. When Gilgamish sorely oppressed the people of Erech the gods heard their wailing [and said to Aruru]:

" Thou hast created an impetuous son [like a wild bull high is his head].
He has no rival; forth go his weapons.
With the lasso are sent forth his . . .
The men of Erech were cast in misery in their *abodes*.
Gilgamish leaves not a son to his father.
Day and night he is violent . . .
He is the shepherd of Erech of the sheepfolds.
He is their shepherd and . . .
The strong, the glorified, knower of . . .
Gilgamish leaves not a maiden to [her mother],
Nor the daughter of warrior, nor the betrothed of a man.
Anu? heard their (the people's) wailing.
They called for the great Aruru (saying),
'Thou hast created [Gilgamish],
And now create his likeness.
Let [his soul] be like the spirit of his heart.
Let them rival each other, and Erech have peace.'
When Aruru heard this, she created in her mind an image of Anu.

Aruru washed her hands, clay she gathered and cast it on the field.
[In the field] she created the hero Enkidu, the hostile offspring, the army of Ninurta." [72]

Here Aruru at the beginning of the Epic of Gilgamish is said to have created both Gilgamish and the wild man Enkidu. In later parts of the Epic the goddess Ninsun, called the *ri-im-tum* or *ri-mat*, "wild cow," is repeatedly named as the mother of Gilgamish.[73]

The sons of Enlil, Ninurta and Nergal, are the deities of supreme importance in the Sumerian mythology, and it was a tribute to the outstanding figure of Ninurta, that the Babylonians attributed to Marduk the *rôle* originally assumed by Ninurta in the great myth of creation, and as a Sun-god. The original name was Ninurash, and *urash* is a word for "morning-light," hence his wife (Bau, Gula), has the title Ninudzalli, "Lady of the morning-light." This is the deity *Sol invictus* and the War-god of Sumer and Babylonia. On Fig. 51 the symbol of Ninurta (second from left in second register) is a weapon with eagle's head,[74] standing between a winged griffon (Nergal) and his other symbol, the eagle. In the fourth register, the last symbol on the right has an eagle perched on a pillar, also a symbol of Ninurta.[75] The eagle on a pillar is also called "the twin gods of battle, Shuqamuna and Shumaliya," [76] and one monument has these names of the twin gods inscribed beside the shaft.[77] To the right of the eagle in the second register stands another symbol of the War-god, a weapon with panther's head. The two weapons of Ninurta with heads of an eagle and panther [78] are called the gods Sharur and Shargaz on one monument.[79]

The eagle, therefore, was the symbol of the Sun-god as the spring and morning sun, victorious over the powers of darkness and the underworld through which he passed nightly. Although Shuqamuna and Shumaliya are called "twin gods," Shumaliya is known to be a goddess. Like all Sun-gods, however, Ninurta was also a twin god, and hence one of the most

common Sumerian names for him was "god-Mash," the twin god, expressing his two original aspects as god of the sun above and below the equator, the beneficent spring sun, and the hostile god of summer heat and winter's cold. It is true that to Nergal was latterly assigned the character of the hostile phases of the sun, and Ninurta received the propitious powers of that luminary, but he also retains in many minor aspects traces of

FIG. 54. NINGIRSU

the ancient duality. The two names of Mash are Umunlua and Umunesiga, apparently "Lord who gives plenty" and "Lord the cruel." [80]

In mythology Ninurta's supreme function is war on behalf of the gods or his people. Ningirsu, the name for him at Lagash, appears on the seal (Fig. 54) holding a curved weapon with lion's head on his left shoulder; a lion's head springs from each shoulder, and his right hand holds seven weapons, each with feline heads. The throne has two crossing lions on its side, symbols of war, and below the inscription, "Urdun, priest of incantations of Ningirsu," stands the lion-headed eagle, emblem of all types of the War-god. In this case the eagle has two heads characteristic of the twin god, but often only one head. The emblems of all those cities, where the cult of the War-god under various local names was prominent, consisted

of a lion-headed eagle grasping in each talon the haunch of a wild animal. At Lagash, where he had the title Ningirsu, his emblem is the eagle grasping two lions in this manner;[81] at Umma (modern Djokha) the animals are ibexes;[82] at Kish, the seat of the principal cult of the War-god Zamama, the animals are stags or antelopes, and on the emblem of Kish the head of the eagle is natural, not lion-headed.[83] Emblems of this kind from unknown sites on which the eagle does not have the lion's head, and with other animals, such as rams,[84] are quite numerous.[85] The principal god of Elam, Nin-Shushinak, "Lord of Susa," or simply Shushinak, was identified with Ninurta.[86] On painted vases of great antiquity from Susa, the eagle grasps two aquatic birds, and it occurs also on bitumen vases.[87] At Tal Ubaid near Ur the finest deep bas-relief (in copper) of this emblem ever recovered, has the lion-headed eagle grasping two deer.[88] The pottery of Susa has also the deployed eagle alone, which is probably not identical with the eagle (with or without lion's head), symbol of the War-god, but stands for the bird of the sun simply.[89] The original name of the deployed eagle grasping lions and other animals is "Bird Imgig," always called a god, but in later times "Bird Im-dugud," or Zû, that is "Storm-bird." In the myth of Zû, enemy of the gods, cited above, he was conquered by Ninurta, and for this reason henceforth became his symbol. The eagle with deployed wings and rapacious talons appears also in Hittite iconography where it sometimes occurs grasping two serpents.[90] The symbol spread from Sumer to Asia Minor and thence to Europe where it survives to this day. The persistence of the sun cult at Jerusalem reappears in the golden eagle placed by Herod on the roof of the temple of Yāw in Jerusalem, which scandalized the high priest Matthias. He and the pious Judas cast it down and thereby incurred the supreme penalty of death at the hands of the dying Herod.[91]

The Sumerian legend of the conquest of the dragon of the storm and chaos, the monster Zû or Imgig, by Ninurta, has

been preserved only in stray references of later literature, but it formed the basis for the elaborate Babylonian Epic of Creation in which Marduk subdued the female dragon of chaos, there called Tiamat, and her host. As he, with his weapon Sharur, "the cyclone," rode to battle in a wagon whose roar shook heaven and Earth, so also Marduk "took up the 'cyclone' his great weapon and drove the chariot of the storm, the unopposable and terrible." Fig. 55 shews him driving a winged dragon, fore-parts lion and hind-parts with tail and feet of an eagle. A liturgy refers to this old Sumerian myth. The legend

FIG. 55. MARDUK DRIVING CHARIOT WITH WINGED DRAGON

of a gigantic conflict between the Sun-god and the demon of darkness "in the beginning," when the champion of the gods created the world, established the stars in their places, and the planets in their courses, presupposed an age when "darkness was on the face of the deep," and when "Elōhim said, 'Let there be light and there was light,'" in the words of the late compiler of Hebrew traditions.[92] Ninurta is addressed by Anu and Enlil and ordered to subdue the dragon of chaos, *ushumgal*, the "Great Sea Serpent," and his ally Zû:

"Lord of the encompassing net, lord full of terror,
Advance, ride forth; O lord, advance, ride forth.
Great champion, whose word bringeth joy; O lord advance, ride forth.
May great Anu see thee; O lord, advance, ride forth.
Thou that holdest in leash the Zû-bird; O lord advance, ride forth.
O lord establish thou thy foundations, yea thou alone, over thy foes."

In this mythology the eagle, bird of the sun, is clearly distinct from Imgig or Zû, the ally of the *ushumgal* or sea-serpent. On the monuments of all periods the eagle stands for Ninurta as *Sol invictus*, and the eagle with rapacious claws is the storm bird subdued by this god. This is evident because Ninurta as Zamama was identified with the constellation Aquila. The eagle as symbol in Aramaean and Phoenician (see Fig. 19) is most probably taken directly from this ancient Sumerian iconography.[93] On Fig. 36, a seal of about the twenty-fifth century, the eagle is associated with the rising sun, and Fig. 37 shews the midday sun supported on the wings of an eagle, on an altar of Palmyra. On the other hand the eagle-dragon, Imgig, was identified with the constellation Pegasus.[94]

Ninurta was the subject of two long Sumerian epics and many hymns. Of the two epics one known as "The king, the day, the sheen of whose splendour is far-famed" consisted of about fourteen tablets in the late bilingual Assyrian version. Tablets II–IX are almost entirely missing at present. Tablet I is a hymn in glorification of Ninurta, son of Enlil, as the War-god who defeats the foes of Sumer:

"Hero whose powerful net overwhelms the foe.
Ninurta, the royal son, to whom his father prostrates himself afar off.
When Bau[95] prays to him for the king,
When Ninurta the lord, son of Enlil, decrees fate,
Then the weapon of the lord turns its attention to the mountain,[96]
The god Sharur[97] cries to the lord Ninurta:
'O lord, loftily placed among all lords,
O son, who sat not with a nurse, whom the strength of milk [fed not],
On that hero, as on a bull, I place my confidence.
My lord, merciful to his city, solicitous for his mother,
Scaled the mountain and scattered seed far and wide,
And the plants with one accord named him as their king.'"

Here begins an obscure myth which runs through the entire epic, the hostility of the various stones and how they were subdued by Ninurta and assigned to various uses. If the earth's

vegetation sprang from the sowing of this god, the stones were hostile and the foes of civilization. The *sû* stone, the *sagkal* stone, dolerite, the *uz* stone, the "mountain stone," and their leader the alabaster, devastated the cities. "From the mountain there went forth a poisonous tooth, scurrying, and at his (Ninurta's) side the gods of his city cowered on the earth."

Whether this assault of the stones and the mountain serpent upon Ninurta's city (Nippur) refers to some invasion of Sumer in remote antiquity or to a nature myth is uncertain. Ninurta turned his face to that place and prepared for war. The Tigris paled and trembled at his fury. He rode to battle in his ship Magurmuntaë and his people knew not whither he had gone. The birds in the land of the foe were smitten and their feathers fell to earth; the thunder of Adad smote the fish of the Deep, and their cattle were deafened.

"He caused dogs to consume the hostile land like milk.
The invader cried to his wife and son,
But could not ward off the arm of the lord Ninurta.
His weapon was mingled with dust on the mountain and the Plague [98] had no compassion.
The divine Sharur weapon raised his hand on high to his lord (saying):
'O hero, what has befallen thee?
The wrath of the mountain hast thou not smitten?'"

It is impossible to follow the course of this epic in the broken condition of the sources at this point. On one fragment the myth of the naming of stones, which forms the important episode later on, is referred to.[99] With Tablet IX begins an address of Ninurta's wife Bau or Gula.

"The lord, soul of Enlil, who is adorned with crown upon his head,
The hero, whose power is not suited to be guided (by others),
Who hastened in majesty, whom (Enlil) sent for my husband,
Whom he begat for my spouse, when roof was not provided,
The son of Enlil rested [*not*], he turned not back his face.
The faithful man whom the faithful woman bore, has come to Eshumera [100] the place of which his eyes are fond.
I will 'sever the cord' for the strong lord.[101]
I am queen alone, and I will go to the eternal lord."

In the broken passage which follows, Bau prays to Ninurta for some purpose not given on the fragment, and Ninurta's reply contains references to her entering the "hostile land" and reigning there as its queen. Here begins the famous episode of Ninurta's addresses to twenty different stones. This myth is referred to in a hymn [102] to Ninurta:

"The gypsum on the mountain thou didst trample upon."

The first address does not preserve the name of the stone. It began:

"Once on a time, when Ninurta decreed fates,
Then in the Land lived the X stone, it is said. Verily this is so."

The fragmentary lines of this section possibly addressed to the gypsum (*ḳaṣṣu*) afford no intelligible text. The second address began:

"My lord stood upon the X stone."

and the whole of this section is missing. The third section began near the end of Tablet X as follows:

"My king stood upon the *shammu*-stone.
To the *illatu* and the porphyry he cried.
Ninurta, son of Enlil, decreed their fates.[103]
Ninurta, the lord, son of Enlil cursed it:
'O *shammu*-stone, since in the mountain thou wentest up,
Since for my seizing thou didst bind me,
Since for my slaying thou didst smite me.
I am the lord Ninurta; since in my far-famed abode thou didst terrify me,
May the powerful hero, possessor of strength, the superior, decrease thy form.
O *shammu*-stone, may thy brothers pour thee out like meal.
Unto their descendants verily thou shalt be an object of woe, and their corpses rule thou.
Thou art strong, but let thy wailing be, and thou perish by piercing.
Like a great wild bull, whom many slew, be (this) given as thy portion,
O *shammu*-stone, in battle like a dog which the shepherd with weapon overpowered.

I am lord; "Porphyry for piercing," this be thy name.'
Once on a time, when Ninurta decreed fates,
Then in the Land the *illatu*-stone, the porphyry, was pierced. Verily this is so."

In a fourth address Ninurta stood upon the *sû*-stone and the basalt, and cursed them: "Like moths I will annihilate you." Goldsmith and smithy should use them. The fifth stone was *sagkalag*, literally "chief stone." This section is almost entirely lost. The last two lines are:

"Once on a time, when Ninurta decreed fates,
Then in the Land the *sagkalag*-stone did evil work (?), it is said. Verily this is so."

The sixth stone was dolerite, which is said to come from the "upper land" and from Magan (Oman). This stone received a good fate at the hands of Ninurta:

"The king, who secures his name unto life of remote times,
Who makes his statue for eternity,
In Eninnû,[104] temple which is filled with things desirable,
At the place of mortuary sacrifices[105] . . . for seemly use may *set thee*."

The seventh address is to *the* stone and it is cursed:

"Lie thou like a swine in thy work,
Be cast aside and for no purpose shalt thou be used, perish by pulverization.
He that finds thee shalt return thee to the water."

The eighth stone, *alallum*, received a good fate:

"O *alallu*, possessor of wisdom, thou that reposest, verily thou shalt put on my glory.
In the foreign land and likewise in *the* Land shalt thou proclaim my name.
Thy greatness shall resist pulverization.
In the clash of arms, O hero, him whom thou slayest grandly cause to perish.
The Land shall praise thee kindly and hold thee in honour."

The ninth stone is the "mountain stone," which received a place of unparalleled honour:

"O praised one, the light of whose eyes is cast abroad,
O mountain stone who in the hostile land hast raised a roar of wrath,
Who utterest a roar in battle, wrathfully, terribly,
Him whom my hand conquered not victoriously,
Whom with the cruel ones I bound not,
Shalt thou scatter at the feet of thy people.
Like gold shall they treasure thee.
O hero whom I bound, not have I rested until I gave thee life."

Marble, the tenth stone, received an illustrious destiny. It should be used for ornament in the temples and be the delight of the gods. The eleventh stone, the algamish, is cursed with a harsh fate:

"Since thou didst plot against my advance,
Go thou before the craftsmen.
Its name shall be called 'Algamish' when the daily offering is brought."

The twelfth stone, *dušû*, is grouped with the *ḫulalu* and porphyry, and received a good fate,[106] but the third stone, with which porphyry was grouped, received an evil destiny. This section is almost entirely missing in the texts; it ends:

"May the land with homage bow down to thee."

The thirteenth stone was chalcedony which was cursed with a hard fate:

"For thy . . . may the horn lacerate thee, and be thou laid for adornment.
Set thy face upon one unworthy of thee.
Be thou torn like a mourner's garment.
The copper-smith shall be set over thee and sever thee with chisel.
The man who brings thy flesh for enmity,
The carpenter who is able to do his work well,
Shall slay thee like death, and flay thee like *rye*."

The fourteenth address to the *immana*-stone is almost entirely lost, but from the first line it is clear that it received an evil fate.

The fifteenth address begins with the *mašid*-stone, but like sections three, four, and twelve, other stones are grouped with the one addressed. Here the *dubban-*, *ukittum-*, and *gashurra-*stones seem to be species of the *mashid*. They are destined unto fame. The sixteenth stone, *shagara*, is exalted to the chief place among stones:

"When thou fleest may every people,
With awe in the builded cities, resting-places of the goddess Ninhursag,
Chant songs of praise because of it."

With the beginning of the address to the seventeenth stone, *marhusha*, which received a good fate, the text of the epic is lost, and we know the names of the five remaining stones from the catalogue only.

A Sumerian epic to Ninurta in three tablets was known by its first line *Ana-gim gim-ma*, "He who like Anu . . ."[107] The theme of this epic is also war, the conquest of foreign lands, and the triumphant return of Ninurta to his city Nippur. Of Tablet I there are only a few references to the warlike power of Ninurta, the wall of the hostile land, and how in his rage he smote their gods. A section of Tablet II has the following lines:

"Anu in the midst of Heaven gave him fearful splendour.
The Annunaki, the great gods attain it not.
The lord went forth like a cyclone,
Ninurta, destroyer of the wall of the hostile land, went forth like a cyclone.
Like a storm he raged on the foundation of Heaven.
When by the command of Enlil he took his way to Ekur,
He, the hero of the gods, casting a shadow of glory over the Land,
Even toward Nippur, far away, not near,
Nusku, the far-famed messenger of Enlil, came forth to meet him in Ekur,
Speaking a word of greeting to the lord Ninurta:
'Thy fearful splendour has covered the house of Enlil like a garment.
At the noise of the rumbling of thy chariot
Heaven and Earth tremble as thou comest.

When thou liftest thy arm a shadow stretches far.
The Annunaki flee in terror even to the host of them.
O terrify not thy father in his abode.
And cause not the Annunaki to tremble in the dwelling Ubshu-kinnu.'"

At the beginning of the third Tablet Ninurta is replying to Nusku before his father Enlil and the divine court of Ekur:

"The warriors, whom I have bound, shall *bear* a nose-cord like a goring ox.
The kings, whom I have bound, shall bow their faces (to me) even as to Shamash.
I am the mighty cyclone of Enlil who on the mountain was irresistible.
I am the lord Ninurta, let them kneel at the mention of my name.
When Anu, light of the gods,
Anu [a . . .] chose in his great might, I am he.
By the weapon shattering the high mountains I am he that has warrant for kingship."

He then praises Nippur as his beloved city and the city of his brothers. Then the god Ninkarnunna, defined as the barber of Ninurta in other texts,[108] stood before Ninurta and said:

"O lord, in thy city which thou lovest, may thy heart be at rest.
In the temple of Nippur, thy city, which thou lovest, may thy heart be at rest.
When thou joyfully enterest the temple Shumera, the dwelling place of thy heart's contentment,
Say to thy wife, the maiden, queen of Nippur,
What is in thy heart, say to her what is in thy mind,
Say to her the kindly words of one who is forever king."

Then Ninkarnunna with words of homage laved his heart with gift of cool waters. "These were the things which he said to him to glorify his decrees forever." "When thou enterest into Eshumera gloriously." Ninurta looked kindly upon his wife, the queen of Nippur, and told her what was in his heart and mind, and the kindly words of one who is forever king. The epic closes with the following lines:

"The warrior whose valour is made most glorious,
Whose greatness in the temple of Enlil filled the world,
The lord, destroyer of the mountains, the unrivalled,
Wrathfully unchained his mighty battle.
The warrior went forth in his might,
Ninurta, the mighty son of Ekur.
O illustrious one of the father that begetteth, far-famed is thy praise."

Lugalkurdub, a minor deity in the court of Ningirsu of Lagash, is described in the following passage, where Gudea places an image of him beside Ningirsu (=Ninurta) in the temple. "To hold the mace of seven heads, to open the door of the temple Enkar, 'gate of battle,' to prepare the sword blade, the *mi-ib*, the quiver, the raging *ḫurra*, and the plan of battle, to devastate all lands hostile to Enlil, for the lord Ningirsu, and at his orders, he (Gudea) caused the warrior to enter beside him, his lieutenant Lugalkur-dub, who with the weapon *sharur* of battle subdues the lands, the chief lieutenant of Eninnû, falcon of the hostile land." Beside this deity Gudea also placed "the second lieutenant," described as *kur-šu-na*, the raven, that he might destroy the hostile land with "the *mi-ib* of Anu, which like a lion rages over the mountains, and with the *sharur*, the cyclone of battle, that its terrible sound wreak destruction and restrain their hearts."[109] In another passage Gudea presented this War-god with the following symbols of battle. "The chariot 'subduer of the foreign land,' bearing splendour, clothed in terror, and its young ass, 'panther of sweet voice,' with its coachman, the mace of seven heads, weapon of battle, which the regions bear not, smiter in battle, the *mi-ib*, weapon of *ḫulalu*-stone, with head of a panther, which turns not back against the foreign land, the sword of nine emblems, arm of valiance, the bow which roars like an ash forest, the angry arrow of battle which darts like lightning, the quiver which puts out its tongue against the gnashing wild beasts and the serpent dragon."[110]

These passages are principally concerned with wars against the enemies of Sumer, but at the end of the last passage there

is a mythological reference to the *mušḫuššû*, "raging serpent," or serpent dragon, which is one of the eleven dragons of Tiamat in the Epic of Creation. In mythological representations of Marduk this dragon seems to have been the one with which the memorable primeval battle of the Sun-god with the dragons of darkness was principally associated. On Fig. 51, third register, first symbol, the throne of Marduk with spade [111] is supported by the dragon which he subdued in his victory over

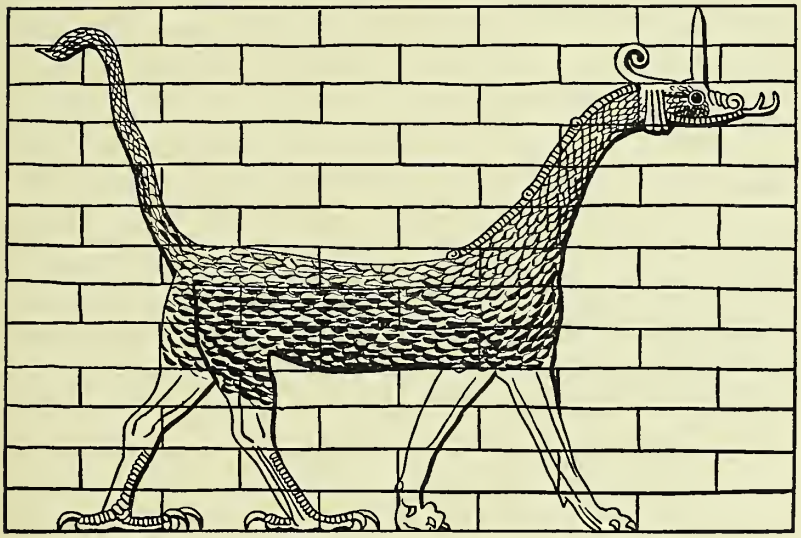

FIG. 56. MUŠHUSSÛ FROM WALL AT GATE OF BABYLON

Tiamat. Fig. 56 shews one of the *mušḫuššû* designed in white glaze on a blue background on the walls of the gate of Babylon. Gudea adorned the lock-blocks of the door of the temple of Ningirsu with figures of two monsters of chaos, *bašmu* (viper) and *mušḫuššû*, which occur together among the dragons of Tiamat.[112] On pp. 117–8 other references to the original myth of Ninurta and the battle with the dragons were given.

A fragment, which probably belongs somewhere among the scantily preserved Tablets II–VIII of the epic discussed above,[113] contains several lines of a hymn of praise by Ninurta himself concerning his weapons:

" In my right hand I bear my divine *sharur*,
In my left hand I bear my divine *shargaz*.
The divine 'lion with fifty teeth,' sickle of my Anuship, I bear.
My divine 'merciless lion,' shattering the mountain, I bear.
My weapon *agasilikkû*, which consumes the dead like the great dragon, I bear.
My heavy weapon of Anu, shattering the mountains, I bear.
My weapon *nunu* with seven wings, subduing the mountains, I bear.
The wild cow of battle, my wicked net of the hostile land, I bear.
The sword, sabre of my Anuship, severing the necks, I bear.
My mighty snare of battle, from whose hand the mountains flee not, I bear.
The help of man, the long bow, arm of my battle, I bear.
Ram that attacks man, my quiver, the cyclone, I bear.
My boomerang and shield, devastating the house of the hostile land, I bear.
My weapon with fifty heads, cyclone of battle, I bear.
My mace with seven heads, which like the mighty serpent with seven heads murder does, I bear.
My weapon with seven heads, wrathful crusher of battle, power of Heaven and Earth, before which the wicked escape not, I bear.
My divine Kurrashurur ('god who causes the mountain distress'), whose brightness like day-light is sent forth, I bear.
My divine Erimanutuk ('god whose power the wicked withstand not'), establisher of Heaven and Earth, I bear.
The weapon whose splendour (covers) the Land, grandly made fit for my right arm, (adorned) with gold and lapis lazuli, which stands as object of admiration, my divine 'Help,' I bear.
My weapon with fifty heads, which consumes in conflagration the hostile land, I bear."

With the names of these twenty weapons the tablet breaks away, and other weapons probably followed here. The faculty of deifying aspects and activities of gods is well illustrated here. In this hymn seven of these weapons are called "gods," and a theological list [114] gives five deified weapons as names of the gods worshipped in various cities, one of which is the city Kar-Ninurta, "Wall of Ninurta." The references in these hymns to Ninurta's conquest of the "mountain" refers to the wars of the Sumerians with the inhabitants of the hill countries to the north and east of Sumer, and the obscure myth of Ninurta and

the cursing or decreeing good and evil fates to stones may be indirectly connected with these ancient wars and legends.

Of more purely mythical nature is the legend of the six-headed wild goat slain in the mountain by Ninurta and mentioned in the following hymn:

"Hero in thy going against the hostile land,
Honoured one who from the womb of woman didst not issue,
What is in the Deep, what that thou hast not attained?
What in sea and earth can increase thee?
The self-exalted stone thou didst destroy and the plants altogether thou hast crushed.
The gods thou hast annihilated with destruction,[115]
And the gods of Heaven stood by thee for battle,
The gods of Earth at thy call lapsed into silence.
The Anunnaki bowed their faces to thee.
The six-headed wild ram thou didst slay in the mountains.
The gypsum in the mountain thou didst trample upon.
The poisonous tooth of the sky thou hast broken.
When thou hast cried without, the people without thou didst prostrate.
When thou hast cried within, the people within thou didst prostrate.
When thou hast cried over the valleys with blood were they filled.
When thou hast cried over the habitations, thou didst count them as heaps of ruins." [116]

The reference to a six-headed ram in the mountains refers to a monster of the Elamitic land, Yamutbal,[117] and to ancient wars between the Sumerians and that mountainous country, which the word "mountain" in all these myths designates. In memory of Ninurta's victory over this land, Gudea placed an image of the six-headed ram, which the hero (Ningirsu) slew, in the portico of the "gate of battle" at Lagash.[118] The "poisonous tooth" refers to a mythical bird, called in parallel texts the *erin*-bird with claws,[119] also referred to by Gudea as the "*erin*-bird which lifts its eye upon the bull." [120] In the myth of Etana and the eagle there is an episode of Zû, the eagle, which preyed upon the carcass of a bull and was ensnared by a serpent. The "poisonous tooth" occurred also in the epic discussed above.

The mythological poems, therefore, consistently describe the

War-god as he who leads the armies of Sumer to victory over the mountainous lands east of the Tigris, and in these legends appear mythical monsters, which seem to belong also to the more famous myth of this sun-god's conflict with the dragons of darkness. Zû and Mušḫuššû, the eagle and serpent dragon, both occur in the passages cited above,[121] and concern the same region, where Sumerian traditions place the exploits of the War and Sun-god; it became latterly the home of Iranians, whose principal myth is identical with the battle of Ninurta with the dragons of primeval chaos. Indra of Indian mythology slew the demon Ahi (Serpent), and in that battle Heaven and Earth trembled in fear; in the same manner Heaven and Earth, and the gods on high and below, trembled at the fury of Ninurta's battle with the dragons. Another form of the Iranian myth of the conflict of light and darkness is the battle of Trita and the three-headed and six-eyed serpent Viśvarūpa in the Veda.[122] The Iranian myth is told of Ahura Mazda or Thraētaona and the three-jawed, triple-headed, six-eyed Azhi, represented as a being with two serpents springing from his shoulders.[123] Another form of Thraētaona is Verethraghna who subdued Azhi (=Ahi) and Vishapa, "he whose saliva is poisonous." There can be hardly any doubt but that Azhi is the serpent dragon *mušḫuššû* or the serpent with seven heads mentioned in the hymn to Ninurta.[124] And Vishapa is surely connected with Zû, "the poisonous tooth." Ninurta and the dragons correspond so closely to Ahura Mazda and the similar Iranian myth that it would be remarkable if this entire Indian and Iranian legend was not ultimately Sumerian. The annual victory of the spring sun over the period of winter's darkness probably suggested to the Sumerians the idea that in the beginning all was a watery chaos ruled over by the serpent dragon and her host when "darkness was on the face of the deep." After his conquest of the dragons and latterly of the mountainous lands hostile to Sumer, the gods entrusted Ninurta with the "Tablets of Fate," precisely as in the later Marduk

version that deity received them as a reward for his victory over Tiamat.[125] Fig. 57, from a seal of a comparatively late period, shews the god Ninurta, or, in the later period, Marduk or Ashur, pursuing the *mušḫuššû*. In his right hand he holds a weapon with six heads, and hurls a thunderbolt with his left hand. The usual representation of this myth is the god with drawn bow aiming an arrow at a winged lion; sometimes the lion has an eagle's head, and the god himself four wings in late glyptique.[126] Sometimes the god wields a sickle attached

FIG. 57. NINURTA PURSUING THE MUŠḪUŠŠÛ

to a long handle. On some seals the animals are natural eagles, ostriches, rams, and roe-bucks, a winged horse, and unicorn.

Like all gods who were "sons," Ninurta was originally also Tammuz, son of the Earth-mother, and died each year with perishing vegetation. Few traces of his connection with that myth and cult remain, as it was almost entirely suppressed by the Tammuz cult. The most direct survivals are the myths of Lil and Nintur[127] and of Marduk and Ishtar, both of which correspond to Tammuz and Ishtar. Ab-ú or Eš-ú, one of the principal titles of Tammuz, is also a title of Ninurta.[128] Ninurta was regent of the month Tammuz and has also the title

Ni(n)kilim, "Lord of swine," in the earliest Sumerian texts.[129] The cult of Nikilim spread to the west, where he was worshipped at an unknown site, Diniktu.[130] The Accadian word for "pig," *ḫumuṣiru*, is used as a title for Ninurta, and is followed by another title, *sugannunna*, "lord of the sea coast," by which Phoenicia is probably meant.[131] Aramaic transcriptions of the name NIN-IB in the Persian period give the pronunciation Anushat, or Anmasht, or Enmasht, or Ennammasht. When we take into consideration that *kilim*, "pig," is also rendered by *nammashtu*,[132] "small cattle," probably also in a special sense "swine," it is possible that Ninurta's title may be Ennammasht, "Lord of swine."[133] It is, therefore, certain that the pig was sacred to Ninurta, and possible that he was known both in Babylonia and throughout the West as "Lord of Swine." In any case as War-god, he was associated with the western War-god, who is there always the Sky- and Thunder-god Adad, Ishar, Yāw. This probably explains why the pig, at least among the worshippers of Yāw, i.e., the Hebrews, was tabu and its flesh forbidden to be eaten. This animal was well known in Sumer and Babylonia, but, in the innumerable records of offerings and economic transactions, it practically never occurs as a food, and a temple calendar forbids it to be eaten on the thirtieth of the fifth month. A fable in Assyrian states that the pig is unclean and an abomination to the gods. It is difficult to understand why the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Canaanites kept pigs at all; for it seems clear that none of these peoples used them much for food.

The cult of Ninurta spread to the West in early times, and a temple of Ninurta at Gebal is mentioned in the fifteenth century. It was precisely at Gebal that the famous legend of the annual wounding by a boar, in the wild and mountainous valley of the Adonis, was told. The seal (Fig. 5'8) from Kish, where Ninurta's principal cult under the name Zamama as War-god existed from prehistoric times, may possibly be connected with a legend of the killing of Nikilim by a wild boar.

The meaning of the scene is obscure, and the figure of the person lancing a spear from the top of a palm tree may not be a deity. It may be connected with the motif of the Sun-god appearing from a tree discussed in Chapter I.[134] There was also a city, Beth-Ninurta, near Jerusalem, in the same period.[135] Since the god Damu, a regular title of Tammuz, was also a deity of Gebal,[136] and since Damu also appears for Gula, wife of Ninurta, it is obvious that not only the Adonis cult of Gebal

Fig. 58. Seal from Kish

was borrowed from the Tammuz cult of Sumer, but that Ninurta, Nikilim, "the lord of swine," has a direct connection with the Sumerian and Phoenician cults of the dying god.

The myths of the War-god of Sumer and Babylonia were attached by the Hebrews to their own Yāw, who as Sky- and Thunder-god fills this *rôle* in their mythology, or to the older Hebrew deity, the Sun-god El, Elōah. With the myth illustrated by Fig. 57 compare the Hebrew survival in Job xxvi. 12–13:

> "Through his power the sea was stilled,
> And by his adroitness he smote Rahab.
> By his wind the Heavens are brightened;
> His hand pierced the fleeing serpent."

The primeval battle of the Sun-god with the dragons of the watery chaos appears in the late hymn to Yāw:

"Thou hast rent asunder the sea by thy power,
Thou hast broken the heads of the dragons on the waters.
Thou hast smitten the heads of Leviathan,
And given him as food to the wild beasts." [137]

Here Leviathan with many heads is reminiscent of the battle of Ninurta and the six-headed ram. Yāw and the battle with the dragons was a familiar theme in the visions of late Hebrew poets. In the vision of a poet who prophesied the vengeance of Yāw upon a sinful world, in which only His own people should be saved, the dragon legend is used as a symbol of His punishment of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt: [138]

"In that day Yāw will take vengeance.
With his sword, harsh, great, and powerful,
Upon Leviathan, the fleeing serpent,
And upon Leviathan, the coiling serpent,
And will strangle the dragon which is the sea."

Job attributed the legend to El in the verses:

"Elōah doth not turn back his anger;
The helpers of Rahab did stoop under him." [139]

In the troubled period of the Jewish Exile a poet appealed to Yāw to shew again his power as in the ancient days when He smote Rahab and pierced the dragon.[140]

Ninurta, however, was identified with Saturn (not with Mars), called *sag-uš*, or in Accadian, *kaimānu*, "the steady star." Amos accused his countrymen of the Northern Kingdom (Samaria) of bearing their images, Sikkūt, "your king," and Kiyyūn. One of the names of Ninurta was Sakkut,[141] otherwise called Etalak, who with his companion, Latarak, stood at the gate of sunrise to open the gate for the entering of Shamash. We have already seen that the title *malik*, "king," was popular in Canaan for the Sun-god, and in fact the Septuagint renders Amos v.26 by "ye have borne the tent of Moloch." Ninurta, as god who opens the gate of sunrise, is a twin-god, and a hymn to him has the following lines:

"The gate of Heaven thou didst open.
The bolt of Heaven thou didst seize away.
The lock-pin of Heaven thou didst lift.
The lock-rail of Heaven thou didst pull back." [142]

Sikkūt is a corruption of the popular name Sakkut as god of Sunrise, and Kiyyūn is a false vocalization in Hebrew for Kaywān, as the Septuagint Raiphan for Kaiphan proves.

Ninurta was, therefore, a deity whose cult was firmly established in Canaan, as War-god, as Sun-god, as Saturn, and as brother of the Earth-goddess Astarte [143] or Ashtoreth. As Tammuz or "brother," Yāw appears in the Hebrew names Ahi-Yāw, "My brother is Yāw," and in Ahi-Melek, "My brother is Malik," and in many other names, survivals of this Babylonian myth from the older Canaanitish religion. At Gebal the name of an official, Abdi-Ninurta, in the fifteenth century, proves the popularity of this deity in the home of the cults of El and Adonis. In astrology Ninurta was identified under various names with the complex of stars Sirius, called "the arrow," the Bow-star composed of ϵ,δ,τ of Canis Major, and κ,λ of Puppis and Orion, wherein the Babylonians probably saw a gigantic hunter drawing an arrow on his bow.

In Chapter I the character and western forms of Nergal, the Sumerian deity of the summer and winter sun, and counterpart of Ninurta, were described in detail. The oldest known title of this underworld deity is Lugalmeslam, "King of Meslam." Meslam, the pronunciation of which is uncertain, is apparently a cosmological word for a mythical chamber in the underworld where the Sun-god remained during the night-time. The ordinary title in the later periods is "god who comes forth from Meslam." Most of the titles of this deity describe him as formidable agent of death and pestilence, lord of the grave, and judge of those that die. The title by which he was best known, Gir-unu-gal, "Mighty one of the vast abode," became Nergal in West Semitic transcriptions and must have been so pronounced by the Babylonians. Other titles are "Raging

King of the earth," "Raging god," "Lion, the slayer," "He who lies in wait for man on a journey," and the Babylonians named him "the evil god," that is Satan, who like Nergal in Western mythology, was lord of the fires of Hell. This deity is by origin undoubtedly the god of the burning sun, and his title Gira means "fire." A text says that "Shamash and Nergal are one," and his Accadian name *ûmu* means "heat." Like his brother, Ninurta, he is also a god of War who carries merciless weapons. Also the moon, during its period of darkness at the end of the month, belonged to the realm of Nergal in the lower world, and offerings were made to him on those days. On Fig. 51 his emblem is seen in the second register, first figure on the left, a winged lion on which stands a weapon with two lion heads, characteristic of the Janus nature of Nergal, god of inferno and pestilence on earth. Fig. 59, a terra-cotta bas-relief from Kish, has the head of a deity, who should be Zamama, the War-god. On the left stands the weapon with panther's head, symbol of Ninurta-Zamama, but on the right the weapon with two lion heads of Nergal. There is a sun disc at the side of the head. The combination of the emblems of Ninurta and Nergal found on the site of the principal cult of the War-god proves that the Babylonians had difficulty in distinguishing them.

But as a Fire-god and lord of the lower world he is also god of flocks and foaling (Shagan), and he increases grain and gives life to men. A prayer to him has the following lines:

"O lord, powerful, exalted, first-born of Nunamnir,[144]
First among the Anunnaki, lord of battle,
Thou art become prince in Arallû; [145] no rival hast thou.
With Sin in Heaven thou perceivest all things.
Enlil, thy father, gave thee the black-headed people, the totality of creatures.
He entrusted to thy hand the cattle of the field,
and animals." [146]

A prayer to him as the planet Mars calls him the "merciful god" who gives life to the dying.

Under the title Gira, Ira, Irra, Nergal appears in a long Accadian myth known as "King of all habitations" or the "Series Irra," said to have been revealed by night to a scribe Kabti-ilāni-Marduk. The name of the scribe and the fact that no Sumerian original has been found, prove that it was written

Fig. 59. Terra-cotta Bas-relief from Kish, with Head of the War-god

at Babylon either during or after the age of Hammurabi.[147] It was Ishum, messenger of Irra, who revealed the poem to this scribe, and Irra was pleased by it saying: "Whosoever reveres this song shall accumulate riches in his sanctuary. The king who magnifies the verses shall rule the regions. The psalmist who chants it shall not die by pestilence. In the house where this tablet is placed, though Irra rage and the seven gods slay, the sword of pestilence shall not come nigh, but peace is pro-

vided for it." The argument of the poem, which in the Ninevite edition occupied five tablets and about five hundred or more lines, cannot be followed in many parts owing to numerous lacunae in our present material.

Irra the slayer desired battle and spoke to his weapons, "the Seven gods," to smear themselves with the poison of death. They urged him forth to destroy the land. But Irra wished to repose and enjoy himself with Mami his wife. Here the dreadfulness of the "Seven gods," that is the seven weapons of Irra, is described. Anu, the father of the gods, begat them, gave them their names, and decreed their fates. The seven fates are: (1) "On high appear and go without rival"; (2) "Be like the god Mes the furious great bull"; (3) "The appearance of a lion has been provided for thee . . . carry out the order"; (4) "When thou liftest thy raging weapons let the mountain[148] perish"; (5) "Rush like the wind and spy out the regions"; (6) "Enter above and beneath and spare no thing"; (7) "The seventh he filled with poison of a dragon serpent (saying) 'cause to perish the soul of life.'" Anu gave the seven gods to Irra for his helpers because Irra was enraged against the people and had decided to slay man and beast. And so the seven weapons arose and urged Irra to destroy men; they will not sit in the city like pale-faced old men or like children at home, or eat bread of women. Here there is a break in the story and after the lacuna there is a long description of the devastation planned by the Seven gods. Mountains and lands, gods, demons, kings, men, and cattle shall be terrified.

Irra heard them and was pleased. He ordered Ishum to institute the calamity. "Open the way, I will take the road." But Ishum counsels mercy and is rebuked by Irra: "Be silent, O Ishum, hear my words. (In Heaven) I am the wild bull, in earth the lion." He then speaks of the "city," which in later passages is Babylon, against which Irra's wrath is principally aroused. Here again there is a lacuna, after which Irra, still

speaking, divulges his reasons for plotting the destruction of the land. They live in peace and are righteous, worshipping the gods. Prisoners they release and set free the bound.

"Like pious orphans they pray to god.
They observe the judgment of god and preserve justice.
They guard themselves against frivolity and withhold slander."

He is, therefore, the incarnation of evil, who, like Satan, hates all piety and goodness. This people, he says, are the favoured ones of Marduk, who is the "god" referred to above. But Irra will plunder Babylon. Here the poet inserts a long extract from a hymn to Shamash,[149] placed in the mouth of Irra:

"The burglar, the thief, the foe of Shamash,
He who assaults on the country road, they come before thee.
Thou hast not held back those who come before thee; thou dost grasp their hands.
In the way of distress and sorrow thou directest his feet."

But Irra, enraged because men forget his name and obey Marduk, says:

"The prince Marduk I will cause to rage, will summon him from his throne and devastate the people."

He goes to Babylon, city of the "king of gods," enters Marduk's temple, Esagila, and says that the adornment of his lordship which, like a star of Heaven, is full of beauty, shall be removed. Marduk replied that once before the Pest-god Irra had ordered him to leave his throne, which he did, and therefore "I brought about the Flood, and let loose the pestilence of Heaven and Earth. Living things were few, and so I like a farmer took their seed and . . . I saw the people who remained after the Flood and . . ." Here the context seems to imply that Marduk accuses Irra of having sent his weapons forth to destroy what remained after the Flood, but Marduk saved seven (?) wise ones (*ummāni*) by causing them to descend to the Apsû, and the precious *mēs*-trees by "changing

their places." "Because of this work which thou, O hero, didst command to be done, where is the *mes*-tree, flesh of the gods, adornment of kings?" "The *mēsu*-tree," says Marduk, "had its roots in the wide sea, in the depth of Arallu, and its top attained high Heaven." He asks Irra where are the lapis lazuli, the gods of the arts, and the seven wise ones of the Apsû.

This obscure passage apparently refers to an ancient destruction of the world caused by Irra, and the Flood, which in other myths was sent by the great god Enlil because of the sins of men. In Chapter VIII a legend of a series of world catastrophes sent by Enlil will be found. The seven wise ones whom Marduk sent to the Apsû refer apparently to the myth of the eight or ten pre-diluvian kings, who became "seven elders" (*apqallu*) in later mythology, and were assigned in this myth to the cities Ur, Nippur, Eridu, Kullab, Kesh, Lagash, and Shuruppak. The seven ancient elders who lived before the Flood had written down the secrets of divination, all magic arts, and wisdom. Berossus, however, preserves a legend of four or five mythical monsters called Annedotus, which appeared from the sea in the pre-diluvian period.[150] In one text the "seven elders" or wise men have the forms of birds or fish.[151] Irra's reply to Marduk is all but destroyed on the tablets. Marduk again tells him that, if he leaves his throne, wild beasts and demons will invade the land, and the gods of the lower sea will arise to make an end of all living things. Irra intractable presents an ultimatum to Marduk: "Until thou enterest that house (the nether sea) and the Fire-god cleanses thy garments, and thou returnest to thy place, so long will I continue to make mighty the pestilence of Heaven and Earth. I will ascend to Heaven and give orders to the Igigi, I will descend to Apsû and take charge of the Anunnaki." And so Marduk rose from his throne and set his face to the abode of the gods of the nether sea, "the inaccessible place." At this point the texts present only a few words in a long lacuna in which some god (Enki?) addresses Marduk,

and then there is apparently a prophecy of destruction. Then the gods Ea, Shamash, and Sin are filled with rage at the misery caused by Marduk's abandoning his throne. Ea, who in all similar myths appears as the saviour of mankind, now laments over the world catastrophe and his son Marduk.

"Now that Marduk has gone forth, he who these wise ones (*caused to descend to Apsû*),
Whose images I created, to Irra . . . saying,
'They draw nigh where no god comes . . .'
To those wise ones wide hearts he [*gave*].
Understanding he gave them, their hands he filled richly.
This artful work they made brilliant and now it is cast asunder more than before."

Irra (in a broken passage) replied to him and continued his threats. Of Marduk's speech which follows no information can be obtained from the fragment. Again Ishum addresses Irra urging him to withhold his wrath. Irra sat in Emeslam pondering over the situation, but his mind gave no answer. He sought counsel of Ishum, first telling him his intention:

"Open the way, I will take the road,
The days are ended, the fixed time has past."

He then prophesies the destruction of Shamash, Adad, and Marduk, and the annihilation of Babylon.

"I will decimate the [land] and count it as ruin.
The cities I will destroy and turn them to a wilderness."

Ishum's reply is entirely lost in a long lacuna, in which an address of Enlil to Irra began. The last lines of Enlil's advocacy of Irra's plan to destroy the Babylonians are preserved:

"Thou shalt 'plant' the weapons of the warriors, the protégés, the disdain of Anu and Dagan,
And cause the carrefours of the city to receive their blood like the waters of a torrent.
Thou shalt open their veins and cause the river to carry it."

This is one of the prophecies or threats against Babylon which are repeated below, and from which the Hebrew writer of Isaiah, chapters xiii and xiv, probably drew inspiration for his own terrible prophecy against Babylon. Marduk (here called Enlil!) cried out in woe and a curse irrevocable broke from his lips: "Not shall he drink the waters of that river, nor shall he . . . their blood and enter Esagila." But Irra again commands Ishum to prepare the way, and the Seven gods to wreak destruction. Ishum once more counsels mercy:

"Alas for my people which Irra the 'deluge' with great evils (*would exterminate*).
Against whom the hero Nergal, as in the days of the battle with Asakku,[152] (*acts without mercy.*)
As when Irra (?) to slay him retreated not . . .
As when to bind the wicked Zû a net [spread].

Ishum appeals again for mercy:

"O leader, against god and king thou hast planned evil,
And against the black-headed people thou hast planned evil and repentest not."

Angered by the clemency of his messenger Irra rebukes him:

"Of the Igigi knowest thou the mind and of the Anunnaki the intention?
And givest thou orders to the black-headed people and causest thou wrath to slay the wicked god (Marduk)?
The king of the gods has gone from his throne,
And why should all the lands remain true?"

Here Ishum's reply is fragmentary, but he still protests. Again Enlil, who in all earlier similar myths is the author of the various world catastrophes, addresses Irra and encourages him:

"O hero Irra, thou hast taken the reins of heaven."

He proclaims him as in complete control of the "pestilence of Heaven and Earth," and of Esagila, Marduk's temple.

"Thou hast not feared the name of the prince Marduk."

He now directs Babylon, city of the king of the gods:

"Thou hast changed thy divinity and become like a man.
Thou hast put on thy weapons and entered into it [Babylon].
In Shuanna, as one who devastates a city, thou speakest like one who shatters.[153]
The Babylonians, who, like reed of the cane-brake, have no overseer, all of them have assembled unto thee.
He who knew not weapons unsheathes his iron dagger,
The quiver of him who knew not the arrow is full.
Upon the sanctuaries of Babylon fire is hurled as by a plunderer of the land.
Of that city, against which I send thee, O thou man,
Fear not the god, be not frightened, O man; small and great put to death altogether.
The suckling child spare not, no not any.
The heaped up treasures of Babylon shalt thou plunder.
Thou shalt 'plant' the weapons of the warriors, the *protégés*, the disdain of Anu and Dagan,
And cause the carrefours of the city to receive their blood like waters of a torrent.
Thou shalt open their veins and cause the river to carry it."

Marduk cried in woe and a curse irrevocable broke from his lips:

"Not shall he drink the waters of that river nor shall he . . . their blood and enter Esagila."

Here there is a lacuna in which Irra seems to answer Marduk, and, when the argument can be followed again, some god is speaking to Irra, this time concerning the destruction of Erech, city of Anu and Ishtar. Here the poem passes to facts and not prophecy.

"Thou hast destroyed its wall without (permission) of Shamash and cast down his throne.
In Erech, abode of Anu and Ishtar,
City of hierodules, whores, and courtesans,
For whom Ishtar paid a husband and counted him as theirs,
Where bedouin men and women utter cries,
(And) eunuchs and eunuch-singers are summoned to Eanna,
Whose virility Ishtar turned to effeminacy to terrify the people,
They who bear the dagger, razor, sword, and stone knife,

They who eat . . . to make glad the mood of Ishtar,
Thou hast set a cruel and relentless governor.
Ishtar raged and was angered against Erech.
She summoned a foe and he seizes it away like grain before the waters."

And Anu wailed over the ruins of Badanki (Erech). Here there is a long lacuna, until the text comes to a dire prophecy against Babylon by Ishum addressing Irra. Ishum, who had persistently advocated mercy, is now wholly on the side of Irra.

"'The son I will cause to die and his father shall bury him.
And then the father will I cause to die and he shall have none to bury him.
O hero Irra, thou shalt destroy the faithful and the unfaithful.
Him that sinned against thee shalt thou destroy.
Him that sinned not against thee shalt thou destroy.'
And thus hast thou spoken in thy heart, O hero Irra:
'The mighty will I smite and put an end to the orphan.
The leader of the host will I slaughter, and put the host to rout.
Irkalla will I shake and the Heavens shall tremble.
The brilliancy of Jupiter (Marduk) will I cause to fall and the stars will I suppress,
The root of the tree will I tear up and its sprout will not thrive.'"

The prophecy against Babylon and its king in Isaiah xiii, xiv is clearly reminiscent of this passage. The Hebrew writer attributes the ruin of Babylon to her own sins, and not as here to the wilful hostility of the terrible Nergal, jealous of righteousness and angered because the Babylonians had not also worshipped him. But the wrath of Irra and the wrath of the Hebrew Yāw are described in much the same way. "Their infants shall be dashed in pieces before their eyes." "I will make the heavens to tremble and the earth shall be shaken out of her place." So prophesied the Hebrew writer, and even more obvious is his borrowing from the Irra myth when he compares the king of Babylon to Hêlēl: "How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Hêlēl, son of the morning!" In the cuneiform text of the Irra myth Marduk is called Shulpae, the name of Jupiter in the early morning, and there can be little doubt

but that Hêlēl is a transcription of a Babylonian title of Marduk-Jupiter, *elil*, "the shining one." Irra rejoiced at the prophecy of Ishum and said: "Sea shall not spare sea, Subartu not Subartu, Assyrian not Assyrian, Elamite not Elamite, . . . land not land, city not city, house not house, brother not brother. They shall slay each other, and then the Accadians shall come and decimate all of them, prostrate them totally." Here Irra plans a world destruction by internecine strife, when the Accadians shall profit from the universal disorder. This is clearly an historical reference to the ancient conquests of Sargon of Accad, who in fact overran the whole of Western Asia in the twenty-eighth century B.C., and his records mention precisely the same peoples. In fact the Irra myth has incorporated several historical disasters from various periods in its composition, which have no connection with the main *motif*, the destruction of Babylon, probably at the hands of Sargon of Assyria, or some earlier Babylonian disaster such as occurred at the hands of Tukulti-Ninurta I in the thirteenth century. And so Irra sent Ishum upon his direful mission; the Seven gods went with him. They seized and plundered Mount Sharshar (?) and devastated the vineyards of the "forest of *ḫashuru*-trees."[154] In a lacuna Irra describes his own work in the present tense (here not prophetic):

> "The seas I trouble and their produce . . .
> Cane-brake and forest I parch . . ."

Only the end of this long description of the fall of Babylon is preserved. Irra rested from the slaughter. All the gods stood before him in terror, as he spoke to them:

"Be silent, all of you, and learn my words.
Truly I prepared the calamity because of the former sin.
My heart raged that I decimated the peoples.
Like a hireling of the flocks the leading sheep from the fold I have brought forth.[155]
Like one who plants not fruit-trees I *weary* not to cut down.
Like a plunderer distinguishing not faithful and wicked I seize away.
Like a devouring lion from whose mouth they seize not the corpse.

And where one perished in fear a second shall not counsel him.
Is not Ishum my forerunner? What is he?
Where is your patron, your high priest where?
Where are your offerings, where shall you fill incense? "

The poem is not consistent in its explanation of Irra's reasons for destroying Babylonia. Here the reason is the "former sin," not otherwise explained, but in accordance with their theology all calamities were punishments for their own or their fathers' sins. In other parts of the poem Irra's *motif* is explicitly stated to be his own inherent love of plague and slaughter and hatred of righteousness. Ishum then addressed Irra:

> " O hero be still and hear my words.
> Behold now, rest; we stand before thee.
> In the day of thy wrath where is thy rival? "

The poem ends with Irra's appeasement and a prophecy of a new age of prosperity for Babylon. He heard Ishum's words and his face beamed with pleasure. He entered Emeslam and sat on his throne, summoned Ishum, and announced a prophecy for the scattered people of Accad.

" The peoples of the land are few, let them again become many.
Let them enter on their way, the destitute as one of abundance.
The orphaned Accadian shall overthrow the Sutean.
One shall overturn seven like sheep.
Their cities thou shalt turn to ruins and his mountain to a wilderness.
Thou restore the gods of the land, who have become angered, upon their thrones.
The god of Flocks and the Grain-goddess will I cause to descend upon the land.
The fields which I parched will bear produce.
Years without number shall they [*sing*] the praise of the great lord Nergal, the hero."

The Seven gods, who occupy an important place in Babylonian and Assyrian religion, do not appear to belong to the original Sumerian mythology. By origin they are deified weapons of war, of the Sun-gods Ninurta and Nergal, and their number "seven" seems to have resulted, in later times, from their

identification with the seven Pleiades.[156] Images of these Seven gods, described as having terrifying wings, before whom an image of Nergal was placed, are used to protect a man's house against demons in rituals.[157] They are here addressed in the singular as *one* deity, and identified with the Fire-god. Their images were buried at the outer gate of a house, and they are described in this manner. "They have crowns, and stand together upon a platform of reed mats; in their right hands they carry a copper bow—. . . , in their left hands a copper sword; they wear copper girths, and have copper horns; bows and quivers are placed on their arms."[158] In all these rituals they are accompanied by their sister Narudu. She wears on her loins a band of *kalû* (glaze?) like a loin cloth and has a red turban; from her left arm she suspends a seal. Eunuchs wore garments like those of Narudu. Although the Seven gods aid Nergal in ruthless slaughter of mankind, they, like him, are also protectors of the people, and Asarhaddon names them "the heroic gods, who hold javelin and arrow, whose onslaught is dire battle," among the great gods who chose him to rule in Assyria.

As god of the land of the dead Nergal was the implacable judge of souls in Arallû; at least this myth of a last judgment became current in the late period. His planet Mars is called the "star of judgment of the fate of the dead." God of the grave, of inspection, and of judgment, are the explanations of his principal titles, and as god of judgment the Sumerian equivalent is "Terrible one of the lower world." A ceremony for laying the foundation of a building contains the following invocation to Enmešarra, one of his titles:[159]

"O Enmešarra, lord of the earth, prince of Arallû,
Lord of *the* place, and of the land of no return, mountain (i.e. might) of the Anunnaki,
Decider of decisions in the earth (lower world), great band (controller) of Andurunna.[160]
Great lord, without whom Ningirsu directs not rivulet and canal, and creates not verdure,

Lord of the enclosure, who rules the earth by his power.
Of vast power in terra firma, seizer of the regions of inferno,
Bestower of sceptre and ring (?) upon Anu and Enlil."

Of the judgment of the souls of the dead, there is this poem. A man dreamed that he had died. He descended to the lower world; he travelled with a boatman across the waters of death and passed the terrifying watchman at the gates of Arallû. He came before Nergal, who sat on a throne before five hundred gods. He prostrated himself before Nergal and was threatened with terrible punishment. But Ishum, named the "defender," who spares life and loves righteousness, allayed the wrath of Nergal. The man was absolved and Nergal finally said: "For thou hast not forgotten me and I will not destroy thee. Worry and pain shall be thy portion no more. Thou shalt be adorned with royal power and all lands shall praise thee. For whosoever honours the god Ashur and celebrates his New Year festival shall be lord in the garden of fulness." [161] A collection of Tablets found in tombs of the Persian period at Susa proves that the Babylonians believed in judgment and rewards in Arallû. One of them has the following expression of this faith:

"Behold I depart, O my god, my lord,
Into the presence of the Anunnaki.
Lo I pass beyond the *tomb*.
May I take thy hand before the great gods,
And hear the judgment, and embrace thy feet.
Thou hast waited, and caused me to escape the house of darkness, O my god,
Yea even the morass of distress and misery.
In the land of calamity thou hast sought me out.
Thou hast made me the precious gift of water and food
In the field of thirst."

The two solar deities, Ninurta and Nergal, are clearly distinguished from the Sun-god Shamash, Sumerian Utu, "heat," "blaze," "day-light," or Babbar, "the shining." The two former as special aspects of the sun with reference to the earth are far more important in mythology than the deity of the sun

FIG. 60. SUN-GOD AND HAMMURABI

simply. There were two principal centres of sun worship, both certainly dating from early Sumerian times, Ellasar in the south and Sippar, about twenty-five miles north of Babylon. The texts ordinarily call Shamash son of Ningal and Sin, the Moon-goddess and Moon-god, and sometimes the son of Enlil, which is undoubtedly the original belief. In the theological lists he follows the Moon-god. Shamash does not appear as a principal figure in any Sumerian or Accadian myth. He was the god of divination and purification *par excellence*, and as such he occupies a position of outstanding importance in the prayers of those in distress. As the all-seeing god of Light, he was patron of law and justice. It was he who revealed the laws of Babylonia to the great king Hammurabi. Fig. 60, a bas-relief from the top of the great diorite stele on which this king inscribed the laws of Babylonia, shews the Sun-god with rays of light springing from each shoulder, seated, and extending toward the worshipping king the sceptre and ring, emblems of rule and justice. The ordinary symbol of Shamash is the four-pointed star with rays streaming from the inner angles, the whole mounted on a convex disk (Fig. 51, at the top). In later times, by inverting the triangular points, the Assyrians obtained the so-called Maltese cross, which is of Babylonian origin. Fig. 61 is taken from a necklace of Ashurnazirpal II; the king wore five symbols on his necklace — the star of Ishtar-Venus, the thunderbolt of Adad, the crescent of Sin, the horned turban of Enlil-Ashur, and this symbol of Shamash.[162] Ammizaduga, king of Babylon, made a famous golden statue of Shamash for his temple Ebarra in Sippar in 1913 B.C., which was plundered from the temple, and recovered by Nabuapaliddin (ninth century), who made a model of it for which Nabuaplauṣur

FIG. 61. FOUR-POINTED STAR. SYMBOL OF SHAMASH

made a clay box; in this it was found and brought to the British Museum. This model is seen in Fig. 62. He sits in a shrine whose back and top consist of a great serpent, for some reason associated with fire (see Shahan), his throne is adorned with two lions and he holds sceptre and ring. Before his head is a cartouche which reads: "Crown of Shamash, staff (?) of Shamash"; above are three astral symbols, (1) the moon disk,

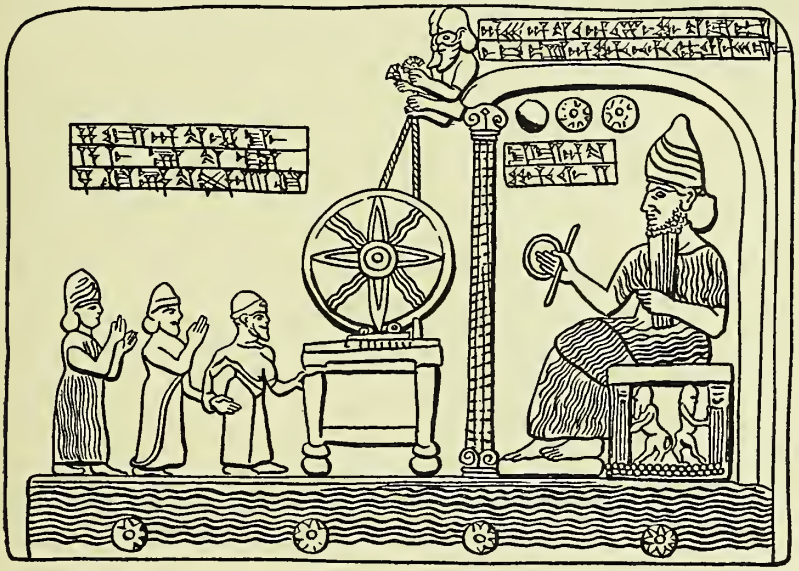

FIG. 62. MODEL OF STATUE OF SHAMASH, NINTH CENTURY, B.C.

with globe of the sun, (2), (3) the star of Venus repeated. On the serpent's head sit two male deities, Kittu and Misharu, "Justice and Righteousness," the ministers who stand at his right and left hand. A cartouche behind them reads: "Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar at the top of the apsû; between (the eyes of) the god Shahan are placed the twins." These twins suspend by ropes a huge sun symbol on a table. The king is led toward it by a priest, and the Mother-goddess stands behind him, praying to Shamash for her royal *protégé*.

As god of the day-light this deity has almost no connection at all with the sun during his passage through the lower world.

There is a curious legend of a tree used in magic to heal the sick. It is said to have been planted in Eridu by the Water-god Enki, and its abode was in the underworld. Its chamber was the bed of the River-goddess.

"In its holy house, casting its shadow like a forest, wherein no man entered,
Wherein are Shamash and Tammuz,
At the junction of the river with two mouths,
The gods Kahegal, Igihegal, and Lahama-abzu of Eridu
Designed this *kiškanu* and cast upon it the incantation of the Deep." [163]

The Sumerian Moon-god, Sin, originally Zu-en, "Knowing lord," belongs like Utu to the Enlil pantheon. The original and oldest name was Nanna, or Innana, "Lord of Heaven," and written ideographically ŠEŠ-KI, "brother of the earth." The Accadians by false etymology with their word *nannaru*, "light," always called this god Nannar. Besides these two titles, which are based upon the moon as a luminary and on his character as god of divination or deity by whose appearances and relations to the stars omens were derived (Sin), there are other titles, of which the following are of most importance: Udsar, "the crescent," "the new-moon," hence also "god of the Boat," Ma, Magur, and Magula-anna, "Great boat of Heaven." As god of the new moon the title Ašimur is common. The fifteenth day of the month, or day of the full moon, was called *šapattu*, a day of rejoicing, prayer, and sacrifice in the Babylonian calendar. The word occurs also as *šabattu*, and designated the day of the full moon as the great festival of the lunar month. The institution of the Hebrew *šabbāth*, "Sabbath," as a rest day is probably an extension and transformation of "the great feast" of the full moon of the Babylonian calendar, applied by the Hebrews to the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month, following the quarters of the increasing and waning moon. It is possible that the Babylonian calendar had regular festivals for the same days; for a group of tablets from the Persian period agrees in

distinguishing these days from all others by adding to the regular sacrifices of sheep for the *diku* or summons to prayers for each day of the month, in each case a small kid called *hitpu* on these days.[164] The day of the full moon was also celebrated by ceremonies on the kettledrum, as was also the seventh day, and consequently the periods of the moon's quarters were certainly festal days in the Babylonian calendar, although the division of the month into weeks was unknown. In any case the Hebrew Sabbath originated in moon worship, as did the Babylonian *shapattu*. In the official calendars the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days have special rubrics. "An evil day (i.e., day of danger). The shepherd of great peoples shall not eat flesh cooked on coals nor baked bread, nor change the garments on his body, nor put on clean garments, nor make sacrifices. The king shall not ride in a wagon, nor speak as a ruler. The seer shall make no pronouncement in the place of mysteries. A physician shall not lay his hand upon a sick person. It is a day unsuited for doing anything."

The principal centre of moon worship among the Sumerians and Babylonians was Ur in the extreme south, and not far from the seat of the sun worship, Ellasar. Another centre of moon worship was Harran (Charrae) on the Balih River south of Edessa. The cult of Harran was of Babylonian origin and transported there for unknown reasons, probably by a wandering Aramaean tribe who had become adherents of the cult in Chaldea. Or it is not impossible that there is truth in the Hebrew account of Abraham of Ur, who with his father and his nephew Lot dwelt for a time in Harran on his migration to Canaan. If this account be accepted it would follow that the Habiru introduced the cults of Sin and his wife Ningal at Harran in the period of the first dynasty. Sin of Harran is distinguished from the Babylonian Sin by the kings of Mitanni in the early part of the fourteenth century.[165] Shalmanassar II built Ehulhul, temple of Sin in Harran, and it was magnifi-

cently restored by Ashurbanipal. After his time the Medes destroyed it, and Nabunidus, more than a half century later, assembled troops, kings, and princes from the whole of Babylonia, Syria, and Phoenicia to rebuild this temple. He placed an image of a wild bull therein; two images of the god Lahmu guarded the eastern gate. Images of Sin and Ningal, of Nusku, god of the new moon, and of his wife Sadarnunna, he set up in Ekulhul, and made Harran "to shine like the rising moon." He restored a plaque on which Ashurbanipal had engraved a bas-relief of Sin with an inscription to glorify this god, and which had been hung on the neck of the god's statue. The cult of Sin, "Lord of Harran," had profound influence upon Aramaean and West Semitic religion, and even after the city became the seat of a Christian bishop a considerable part of the inhabitants adhered to the heathen cult, which persisted under Islam into the Middle Ages. The coins of Roman emperors struck at Charrae bear symbols of Sin. The Tychē of Carrhae has a crescent above her mural crown, and other coins have the crescent and star of Venus. Fig. 63, a coin of Caracalla, shews on the reverse the bust of the Moon-god of Harran with crescent springing from his shoulder. The adherents of the cult of Sin at Harran were known as Harranians or Ssabeans among Arabic and Syriac writers, and their doctrines were transformed by Greek philosophy and Gnosticism. Their week of seven days is certainly not of Christian origin, but probably a direct inheritance from Babylonia. The first day was sacred to Ilios, the Greek Helios, the second to Sin, the third to Ares, the fourth to Mercury, called Nabûg (Nebo), the fifth to Bâl (Bêl-Marduk) or Jupiter, the sixth to Balthî (Bêlit) or Venus, and the seventh to Cronus (Ninurta) or Saturn. The remnants of Babylonian deities

FIG. 63. COIN OF CARACALLA, SHEWING MOON-GOD OF HARRAN

in these planetary names of the Harranian week prove that Babylonian mythology was the basis of this remarkable cult.[166]

Marduk owes his prominence in Babylonian religion and his wide influence upon West Semitic mythology entirely to the political importance of the city Babylon, which became the capital of Sumer and Accad after the Sumerians had almost entirely disappeared. In the ancient pantheon his title was Asar, of unknown meaning, but certainly a minor deity of Eridu, where the ideogram employed in writing his name also had the value *išḫura*, a name of the Grain-goddess. His augmented title Asarri was commonly pronounced Asaru, and explained as " the bestower of husbandry." By origin a vegetation deity and son of the Water-god Enki of Eridu, his sudden appearance at Babylon under the new title Marduk as a Sun-god is still unexplained. The word is apparently derived from or at least written *amar-ud*, " Youth of the sun," a word which, following the principle of loan-words, passed into Accadian as Amaruduku. Others derive the name from Accadian *maru* and *Duku*(*g*), i.e., " Child of the holy chamber," or throne room of Enlil.[167] His character is synthetic, into which the priests of the capital incorporated most of the attributes of his father Enki as god of Lustration, and of Enlil and his son Ninurta. He had officially fifty names, which the six hundred gods in assembly bestowed upon him after he had won for them the battle against Tiamat and created Heaven and Earth. The explanation of these names forms the seventh book of the Babylonian Epic of Creation.[168] A fragmentary text identifies Marduk with fourteen gods, among them Ea, Ninurta, Nergal, Enlil, Sin, Shamash, Adad, and probably all the important deities of the pantheon on the rest of the tablet. This is clear evidence of a monotheistic tendency in the late period, when there was also a school which made Enlil a monotheistic deity.[169] The original character of Marduk as a deity of Eridu was that of an agricultural and a vegetation deity. This aspect survives in his title " plougher of the fields," and in his symbol on monu-

ments, the spade, *marru*.[170] The identification of Marduk with Tammuz in the late period was, therefore, a survival of an ancient Sumerian myth of the Vegetation-god and is described in the Chapter on Tammuz and Ishtar.

Marduk is the Bêl of Babylonian and Assyrian religion, corresponding to the West Semitic Ba'al, "lord." The title never denoted a specific deity and was employed for the god of Babylon because of his supreme importance only. Wherever Bêl is employed in other Semitic languages and in classical languages Marduk was meant. Bêl-Marduk, as a mighty figure in ancient religion, represents the spring sun and the older Ninurta. His great festival, beginning at the spring equinox and lasting for eleven days, was called *zagmuk*, "beginning of the year," or the *akitu*, from a special part of the festival or procession to the "house of the *akitu*," which was the essential part of the New Year festivals in the old Sumerian calendars of all the great cults. A similar festival of Anu and Nanâ-Ishtar at the autumn equinox survived at Erech in the Persian period. The old Sumerian cities never recognized the new cult of Marduk, creation of the priests of the capital, but it was in fact the myths and rituals of Babylon which influenced directly the beliefs of the Hebrews and of the Gnostic sects in the late period. The *zagmuk* at Babylon is called "the resurrection of the Enlil of the gods, Marduk." The long directions for the ceremonies of each day have survived for the second, third, fourth, and fifth days of Nisan, and were based largely upon episodes of the Epic of Creation. Many of the hymns and ceremonies were mysteries known to the high priest only. The ritual has a ceremony of burning a sheep in an oven in memory of Marduk's having burned Kingu, husband of Tiamat, and a survival of a variant version of the conquest of the dragons, who were cast into Hell fire. This legend was adopted by the Hebrews in the vision of Daniel (vii. 9–11), in which the "fourth beast" was cast into burning flames by Yāw, "the ancient of days," from before whom issued streams

of fire. Marduk is frequently described as the Fire-god, "the flame which causes the foes to be burned."

On the eighth day of the festival all the great gods of Babylonia were required to travel to Babylon in ceremonial ships and meet in the hall of assembly of Esagila, Marduk's temple, where the fates for the ensuing year were determined. On the eleventh day when Marduk returned to his temple from the "house of Akitu" outside the city the following hymn was sung:

"O Bêl, when thou enterest thy temple may thy temple rejoice to thee.
O mighty Bêl-Marduk, when thou enterest thy temple may thy temple rejoice to thee.
Repose O Bêl, repose O Bêl, may thy temple rejoice to thee.
May the gods of Heaven and Earth say to thee, 'repose, O Bêl.'" [171]

His marvellous birth is described in the Epic of Creation. Created in the Apsû of Ea, he was the wisest of the wise, and Damkina (wife of Ea) caused him to be nourished at the breasts of goddesses. The marvellous birth of Marduk was made a precedent for the births of kings to whom the faithful assigned the *rôle* of redeemers, and Ashurbanipal is thus addressed by the god Nabu:

"Small wert thou, Ashurbanipal, whom I confided to the queen of Nineveh.
Weak wert thou, Ashurbanipal, who didst sit on the lap of the queen of Nineveh.
Her four teats were offered to thy mouth; two thou didst suck, covering thy face with two."

There is also a legend of Sargon the ancient whose mother was a priestess, and whose father he knew not. He was born in secrecy, and his mother put him in a wicker basket, sealing it with bitumen; she placed the basket on the Euphrates which did not engulf it, but bore it to one Akku, an irrigator. Akku lifted him from the basket and reared him as his own son, and made him a gardener. Ishtar loved him and he became king.[172] The Biblical legend of the birth of Moses and his concealment

in an ark of bulrushes which was placed among flags in the river and found by a daughter of Pharaoh belongs to the same cycle of miraculous births of men, favoured by the gods and sent as divinely appointed servants among men. The transference of the myth of a son of a god, who delivered the gods from evil and inaugurated a new era, to a king, is ancient. Sumerian kings frequently proclaimed themselves to be sons of the Virgin-goddess and not infrequently assumed the title " god," and even identified themselves with Tammuz.

Nabû, literally the " prophet," " herald," god of writing, whose cult and temple, Ezida, were at Barsippa, ten miles south-west of Babylon, has a Semitic name. This is a translation of the old Sumerian title Mê, " to proclaim," " to be wise," or Sà. The oldest known titles are Ur and Dubbisag, " the scribe." He, like Marduk, appears to have been adopted by his city from the pantheon of Eridu, and he owes his prominence in the late period entirely to the political importance of Barsippa. In the old Sumerian pantheon it was the Grain-goddess Nidaba who was the patroness of letters. Nabû, however, was a divine scribe from the beginning of Sumerian religion, and was specially connected with Dilmun, a land on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, made famous in legend by the location of Paradise there in a poem to be discussed. His wife was Tashmêtu, " hearing," " mercy," also a Semitic title. An earlier Sumerian name for her has not been found, and she is described, usually, as " the daughter-in-law " of Marduk, father of Nabû, and first-born daughter of Ninurta. Nabû is consistently described as a god of wisdom and letters, the Mummu or creative Logos of Enki, bearer of the tablets of fate, and mighty messenger of the gods, " without whom no plan is initiated in Heaven." His symbol on monuments, Fig. 51, third register, is a writing-desk supported on a table, and the whole stands upon the back of a monster hardly distinguishable from the *mušḫuššû* of Marduk. That this is the symbol of

Nabu is proved by Fig. 64,[173] an Assyrian seal shewing Marduk standing on the dragon (right): he has bow and quiver, sceptre and ring. Before him stands the spade; on the left is Nabu standing upon an almost identical dragon, and identified by the mason's chisel before him. He holds a clay tablet in his left hand. The ordinary symbol is an object which seems to be a ruler or measuring rod with a deep groove down the centre.[174]

FIG. 64. ASSYRIAN SEAL. TO RIGHT, MARDUK ON DRAGON. TO LEFT, NABU ON DRAGON

The stage tower of Ezida at Barsippa was named Eurmeiminanki, "House of him who controls the seven decrees of Heaven and Earth." According to Rawlinson, who examined its ruins in the middle of the nineteenth century, the seven stages still retained their colours, and from the ground upward had the following order, each representing a planet: (1) black (Saturn), (2) brown-red (Jupiter), (3) rose-red (Mars), (4) gold (Sun), (5) white-gold (Venus), (6) dark-blue (Mercury), (7) silver (Moon).[175] The top stages of this mighty tower are not preserved now, nor are the colourings of the lower stages; at Ur the lower stage of the four-staged tower

is painted black and the top stage is blue. In contrast to Marduk, Nabu represented the period of the sun when the days were shortest, from the eleventh of Tammuz to the third of Kislev, or in a loose sense, the winter solstice. In the mystic ritual of the New Year's festival the sanctuary of Nabu at Babylon was veiled, in memory of his descent or the descent of the sun to the lower world. This veiling of the shrine occurred on the fifth of Nisan, during the rejoicing for Marduk, the risen god of the Spring-sun. The custom, however, has survived in Christian rituals in the veiling of the Cross during the period of Jesus' repose in the tomb.[176] Since Mercury is always seen near the sun before sunrise and after sunset (like Venus), Nabu, as messenger and prophet of the Sun-god, was identified with that planet. A hymn has: "Star of sunrise and sunset . . . at whose appearance the Igigi and Anunnaki joyfully [*rejoice*]." As a fixed star Nabu seems to have been identified with Aldebaran, which in the period of the origin of astrology (first Babylonian dynasty) rose approximately at the beginning of the Babylonian year (end of April) and hence announced the year. Aldebaran was known as the "star of the tablet." For this reason it was Nabu who wrote the tablets of fate at the spring festival.[177]

In late Hebrew and Jewish mythology, Nabu, the scribe of the gods, who keeps the tablets of fates, appears in various writers as an angel. Ezekiel saw in a vision seven men, one of whom carried a writer's ink-horn, and he went through Jerusalem setting a mark upon those who abhorred wickedness. Enoch, an orthodox Jew of the early Christian period, mentions the angel Pravuil or Vretil, "who is wise and writes down all the Lord's works." [178]

The national god of Assyria, Ashur, originally Ashir, borrowed his entire mythological character from the Sumerian Earth-god, Enlil, and the Sun-god, Marduk. Assyrian editions of the Epic of Creation substitute his name for Marduk in the text, and Assyrian representations of the combat of Bêl

and the Dragon refer to him and not to Marduk. So far as we are concerned with the figures of the pantheon which are important in the Sumerian and Accadian myths, the only deity which remains to be defined is Ereshkigal, "Queen of the lower world."

The ordinary word for "lower world," Arallû, explained as "the great city," "mountain house of the dead," has also many synonyms. It is often referred to as "Land of no return," and the souls of the dead descended thereto by the seven gates which were located in the west, or the place of the setting sun. It was also known as "the mountain," and an ordinary expression for dying is "to reach the mountain." Since judgment was passed on the dead in Arallû, a word for mountain (*ḫursag*, Accadian *ḫuršanu*, *ḫuršu*) was used for "place of judgment," in mythology and in legal procedure. To send a defendant at law to the mountain meant to put him to the ordeal, a custom which ordinarily consisted in throwing him into the river. If the river "overcame him," i.e., if he drowned, he was proved guilty, but if the river "declared him clean," i.e., if he survived, he was proved innocent. This form of ordeal is documented for cases against persons accused of sorcery or wives accused of adultery. Another word for Arallû is *ganzir*, explained by *irkallu*, "great city," and by "gate of the goddess of the lower world," "darkness." One of the names of Ereshkigal is Ganzir. A synonym is *ḫilib*. Ereshkigal appears repeatedly in Greek magical texts of the first four centuries A.D. as Ερεσχιγαλ, and often with a deity Νεβουτοσουληθ, in which scholars find the Babylonian Nebo, Nabu. An exorcism from Carthage has: "I curse thee in the name of Hecate . . . and by the mare of Aktiōphi Erescheigal"; Aktiōphi is said to be a name for Hecate. In some texts Ereshkigal occurs with Persephone.[179]

Her Accadian name is Allatu, and her messenger is Namtar, "Fate," chief of the seven devils, whose wife Hushbishag keeps the tablets of Arallû on which the hour of death of every man

is written. To Arallû, the land of darkness, infested by monsters and wandering souls of the wicked who had not received the last rites of burial on earth, went the souls of all men. The shades of the wicked (*etimmu*, Sumerian *gigim*) are demons who rise from Hell to torment mankind. A man tormented by these demons prays to the ghosts of his family, who, by virtue of proper burial and perpetual offerings maintained for them by their descendants, reposed in peace in Arallû:

" O ye ghosts of my family, enlighteners of the tomb,
Of my father and grandfather, of my mother and grandmother, of my brother and sister,
Of my family by male and female lines,
As many as sleep in the lower world, I have burnt funeral offerings to you.
Water I have poured to you, I have caused you to *repose*.
I have bewailed you and . . . you.
This day before Shamash and Gilgamish stand in prayer for me.
Judge my case, render my decision.
The wickedness which is in my body, flesh and sinews,
Give over to the hand of Namtar, messenger of the nether world.
May Ningishzida, throne-bearer of the wide nether world, strengthen their bondage,
To Nedu, great watchman of Hell, their faces
Let them set and descend to him unto the Land of no return.
I your servant may live and prosper.
Because of the witchcraft I have called upon your name.
I will cause your resting place to drink cool waters.
Give me life and I will sing thy praise." [180]

Namtaru kept the demons of the wicked in bondage, for those who prayed. But he is consistently portrayed as the most terrible of the demons.

In the early Sumerian texts and in Accadian texts, the husband of Ereshkigal is always Ninazu and a Sumerian month in which fell the autumn equinox was called Kisig-Ninazu, " Feast of the *parentalia* of Ninazu." He is, therefore, the Sun-god about to enter the period of decline, and to him, as lord of Arallû, the Sumerians instituted a feast of All Souls. The following month was called Ezen-Ninazu, " Festival of Ninazu,"

and Hammurabi calls himself "the establisher of holy repasts for Ninazu." A myth, found on tablets of the fifteenth century in Egypt among the correspondence of Canaanites, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Mitannī, tells how Nergal became husband of Ereshkigal.[181] This myth, written in Western Babylonian script, is annotated by points to divide the words, and seems to have been a text-book in Canaan. The gods had prepared a feast and wished to invite their sister Ereshkigal. But they knew that she would not come, so they by a messenger requested her to send for her portion of the food. She sent Namtar, who mounted to high Heaven. Here there is a break, in which Nergal alone of all the gods refused to rise from his seat to greet Namtar.

When Namtar reported this to Ereshkigal, she raged and ordered Namtar to tell the gods to send her the offender that she might slay him. And they said:

> "Behold now, the god, who stood not up before thee,
> Take away unto the presence of thy queen."

Namtaru counted the gods, but one hid himself in the background. The discovery of the culprit Nergal followed in a passage where the text is sadly damaged. He appealed to Ea, who in all difficulties found a way of escape, and is by figure of speech called Nergal's father here. Ea gave him fourteen comrades to go with him unto Ereshkigal. The names of the first three are not preserved here. The others are Mutabriqu, "the lightning-maker," Sharabdâ, "Slanderer(?)," Rābiṣu, "Spy"; Ṭirid, "Terror"; Idiptu, "Whirlwind"; Bennu, "Plague"; Ṣîdānu, "Fever"; Miqtu, "Prostration by heat"; Bêlup(?)ri; Umma, "Heat"; Lîbu, "Ague." He came to the gate of Ereshkigal and summoned the watchman to loosen the strap of the latch:

> "I will enter into the presence of thy queen,
> Ereshkigal. I have been sent. The watchman went and
> Spoke to Namtar: 'A god stands at the entrance of the gate.

Come, look at him, let him enter.' Namtar went out
And saw him. . . . He said
To his queen, ' My queen, it is the god who in
Months ago disappeared and did not stand up before me.'
' Bring him in, he shall *not* go, surely I will slay him,' she said."

Nergal entered and placed each of his companions at one of the fourteen doors, entrances to the house of Ereshkigal. He created havoc in the forecourt and slew Namtar. To his comrades he gave instructions to open all the doors: "For now will I hasten for you." In the interior of the house he seized Ereshkigal by her hair and cast her from her throne, and was about to sever her head on the floor. "Slay me not, my brother, I would say thee a word," she said. Nergal heard her and loosened his grasp. She wept and sobbed:

"Thou shalt be my husband, and I thy wife. I will cause thee to possess
Kingship in the wide underworld. I will place the tablets of
Wisdom in thy hand. Thou shalt be lord
And I shall be queen."

Nergal heard her speech, lifted her up and kissed her, wiping away her tears, and said:

"Why hast thou desired me since far away months, even until now?"

The myth ends in this abrupt manner, and it is obviously a late composition in glorification of Nergal. In the myth of the Descent of Ishtar to the house of Ereshkigal, she descends by seven gates, and a text names seven watchmen of Ereshkigal: Nedu, Kishar, Endashurimma, Enzulla, Endukugga, Endushuba, and En-nugigi.

Ereshkigal was identified with the constellation Hydra, but her son Ningishzida was also identified with the same constellation. An Assyrian text has this description of the Babylonian Hecate: "The head has the form of a turban, she has the snout of a *pagû*(?). One horn, which is like that of a kid, on her back is short. One horn, which is like that of a kid, on her forehead

is sharp. She has a sheep's ear and a human hand. With her two hands she carries food and holds it to her mouth. Her body is that of a fish and she is bent on her back. The sole of her foot is . . . From between her horns to her rump hair is laid. Beside the soles of her feet she . . . From her loins to her soles she is a dog. The navel(?) therein . . . She puts on a waist-band. She is covered with scales like a serpent." [182]

CHAPTER III

THE LEGEND OF ETANA AND THE PLANT OF BIRTH

PASSING now to the legends of Sumer and Babylonia, which gave rise to epics and poems, those which concern the mysteries of life and death command first attention. These are invariably connected with mythical plants and foods. The long poem, which forms the subject of this Chapter, has for its theme the plant of birth, which was in the keeping of Anu in high Heaven, and the quest for it by Etana, king of Kish, who, being without heir, sought to procure from Anu that magic plant, which would cause his wife to bear a child. The lesson taught by this myth was that kingship is hereditary, and that legitimate kings, descended from one appointed by the gods, are the sources of all civilization. The divine right of kings, their messianic character as sons of the Mother-goddess, form the Sumerian and Babylonian theory of the state. The Sumerian lists of antediluvian and post-diluvian kings begin both periods with the statement that "rulership descended from Heaven." In the beginning began one Alulim to rule at Eridu, and to his reign one source assigns 28,800 years, and another 67,200 years. The traditions usually assign ten kings of enormous longevity to the age before the Flood, corresponding to the ten Hebrew patriarchs from Adam to Noah. The Sumerian period before the Flood is given as 456,000 years on one source. Another text gives only eight antediluvian kings, and 241,200 years. After the Flood rulership again descended from Heaven (Anu) at Kish, where twenty-three kings ruled for 24,510 years. In this dynasty Etana was the thirteenth king, "the shepherd who ascended to Heaven," and he reigned 1500 years. His son is

named Walih and Balih in the standard texts, but one text calls him the "god Illad," or Ildu, "he who was born." His wife had given birth to still-born children several times. In the legend he failed to reach high Heaven, but the birth of a son to succeed him on the throne must have been attributed to some miraculous cause.

No Sumerian text of this legend has been found, and the following account of it depends entirely upon fragments of an early Babylonian edition and of a late Assyrian edition. The late edition differs from the original old version so greatly in diction that it must have been entirely rewritten. The poem was known in Assyrian as *âla isîru*, "the city they hated," from the opening line. In the beginning, when men had become numerous, the gods of Heaven (Igigi) hated them. It was the gods of the nether sea (Ea and his pantheon), the Anunnaki, who wished to organize them into an ordered society. This jealousy of the gods against man and the intervention of the Water-god on their behalf reveals itself repeatedly in Sumero-Babylonian mythology and appears also in Hebrew mythology.

"The Seven gods[1] had locked the gates against the hosts (of mankind)."[2]

Then Ishtar, the Mother-goddess, desired a shepherd for men. A king she searched for.

"The pale-faced people, all of them, had not set up a king.
Then no tiara was worn nor crown.
And no sceptre was studded with lapis lazuli.
Throne-rooms had not been created at the same time.
The seven gates were locked against the hosts of mankind.
Sceptre, crown, tiara, and staff
Were still placed before Anu in Heaven,
And there was no royal direction of her people.
Then kingship descended from Heaven."

There is no explanation as to how the Igigi were persuaded to become patrons of men, and here there is a long break in which Etana and his wife seem to appear on the scene. In this long lacuna it is certain that the age before the Flood, the Flood,

and the founding of the kingdom of Kish were described. Owing to the interruption of the argument it is difficult to understand how it led up to the following episode of the serpent and eagle. To provide for Etana's ascent to Heaven, the *dénouement* of the myth, the eagle must be brought into the story, but the mythical significance of the strife between the serpent and the eagle is difficult. The text now describes an alliance between the eagle and the serpent.

"The eagle opened his mouth addressing the serpent:
'Come, let us swear to an oath of friendship and peace.
He who fears not the oath, heavy is the curse of Shamash upon him.'
Before Shamash, the heroic, they took the oath:
'Whosoever transgresses the boundary of Shamash,
May Shamash smite him calamitously by the hand of a smiter.
May the mountain [3] close its entrance against him.'"

And so these sworn companions hunted for food together in the mountains, the eagle capturing wild bulls and asses for the serpent and its offspring, while the serpent caught goats and kids for the eagle and its eaglets to eat. This myth was widely spread in antiquity and a tablet containing this part of the episode from Susa has the following lines:

"After they had sworn an oath,
All their children were conceived, all were born.
The serpent begat in the shade of an elm.
The eagle begat on its mountain peak.
The serpent caught a wild bull and an antelope,
And the eagle ate, his children ate.
The serpent caught a panther and a marsh lion,
And the eagle ate, his children ate."

When the eaglets had grown strong the eagle plotted to devour the young serpents:

"Lo, I will devour the offspring of the serpent . . .
I will ascend and in Heaven dwell,
I will descend and eat fruit from the tree-tops.
My children have grown up and become large,
They shall go and seek [food for themselves:]
They shall seek the plant [of birth:]."

But one of the eaglets, who was "exceedingly wise," warned his father against this treachery.

"Eat not, my father, the net of Shamash will entrap thee."

"But he listened not to them, listened not to the words of his son."

He descended and devoured the young of the serpent, cast his friend, the serpent, from its nest and tore it assunder.

"The serpent looked and his offspring were not."

The serpent wept before Shamash.

"I put my trust in thee, O heroic Shamash; to the eagle I gave a gift of good-will, but now he has torn my nest asunder."

"The wickedness, which he has done, Shamash, thou knowest.
Surely, O Shamash, thy net is the wide earth.
Thy trap is the far away Heaven.
From thy net may the eagle not escape,
The evil-doer, Zû, he that upholds evil against his companion."

Here one version identifies the eagle of this myth with the dragon Zû, the lion-headed eagle, enemy of the gods, but a variant text has here "doer of evil and shamelessness." The appeal is to Shamash, as god of Justice. The god advised him to pass over the mountain, where he would find the carcass of a wild bull, and to hide in its interior. The birds of Heaven would descend upon it and devour its flesh. The eagle, not knowing the danger, would descend upon the carcass.

"When he enters into the interior, seize him by the wings.
Tear off his wings, his pinions and his talons.
Strip him and cast him into a pit. . . .
May he die the death of hunger and thirst."

The serpent followed the advice of Shamash. The eagle saw the carcass and said to his children:

"Come, let us descend and devour the flesh of this wild ox."

But "the exceedingly wise one" of his sons warned him of the danger.

"Descend not, my father, perchance the serpent lies in the interior of the wild ox."

But he heeded not the warning, descended and walked about on the entrails, fluttered over the loins, was seized by the serpent.

"The eagle opened his mouth saying to the serpent:
'Have mercy upon me and I will bestow upon thee a dowry like a bridegroom.'"

But the serpent said that Shamash had ordered his punishment. He stripped him of his wings and pinions and cast him into a pit.

FIG. 65. COMBAT OF EAGLE AND SERPENT

A Sumerian version of these episodes surely existed. Gudea, in his great Sumerian cylinder inscriptions of the twenty-sixth century, speaks of the dragon "Zû, who with the serpent passed over the mountain." The combat of the eagle and the serpent is represented on a soap-stone bas-relief from Nippur, found in debris near a shrine of Bur-Sin of Ur (twenty-fourth century), and shews the eagle in mortal combat with a serpent (Fig. 65).[4] The astronomical origin of this episode is suggested perhaps by the close connection between Serpens and Aquila, if these identifications are earlier than the myth. Aquila stands near the tail of Serpens, but Babylonian astrologers may have made these identifications from the myth, which is more probable. There is, however, no evidence that the Babylonians saw

a serpent in the group of stars now called Serpens. There was, however, a star in Aquila called the "carcass."

From the pit the eagle appealed daily to Shamash:

"Shall I die in the pit? Who knows how thy punishment has been laid upon me?
Save the life of me the eagle.
Unto eternal days I will cause thy name to be heard."

And Shamash replied:

"Thou hast caused grave evils to be committed, bringing sorrow.
A thing inhibited by the gods, a disgraceful thing hast thou done.
Thou didst swear and verily I will visit it upon thee.
Go to a man whom I shall send thee; let him take hold of thy hand."

Now Etana appears in the argument. He was praying daily to Shamash, reminding him of the sacrifices he had ceaselessly made to him. He had always honoured the gods and revered the souls of the dead.

"O lord, by thy command may (a child) come forth; give me the plant of birth.
Shew me the plant of birth; deliver my offspring and make me a name."

Shamash directed him to the pit where the eagle was cast, saying: "He will shew thee the plant of birth." Etana found the eagle praying to Shamash and promising to repay the man who would deliver him by doing anything he might ask. In the eighth month Etana lifted him from the pit and gave him food; he ate like a ravenous lion, and became strong.

"The eagle opened his mouth saying to Etana:
'My friend, verily we are joined in friendship, I and thou.
Tell me what thou desirest of me and I will give it thee.'"

Etana asks for the plant of birth. Here there is a long lacuna, which gave an account of the first stage of the ascent of Etana on the back of the eagle, to obtain the plant of birth in the third Heaven of Anu. They reach the planetary sphere or

first Heaven. Here the text is regained, and the eagle describes to Etana what he sees at the gates of Sin, Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar, that is, of sun, moon, Venus, and the Thunder-god, Adad. Ishtar sat in the midst of splendour, and lions crouched at the foot of her throne. The text of the description of what the Babylonians believed to be the planetary sphere and also of the Thunder-god is too defective to yield any further in-

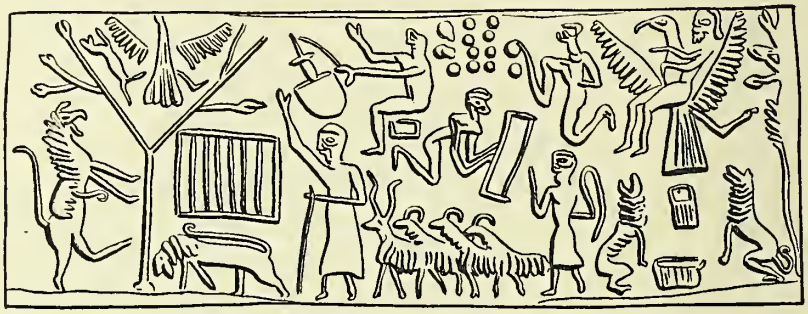

Fig. 66. Etana on Eagle Ascending to Heaven

formation. The eagle now prepares for the second stage, to reach the plane of the fixed stars.

> "Come, I will bear thee to the Heaven of Anu.
> Place thy breast against my breast.
> Upon the feathers of my wings place thy hands.
> Upon the stumps of my wings place thy arms."

Etana's ascension is pictured on numerous seals, all of the early Sumerian period. Fig. 66 shews Etana sitting crosswise on the eagle's breast with his arms about its neck. The seals invariably have Etana's dogs looking upward toward their disappearing master and his flocks of sheep and goats, left behind in charge of shepherds. On the left this seal has a tree in which the eagle sits, holding a small wild animal, apparently a lion's cub, in his right talon. The male and female lions, whose offspring he has seized, rage impotently around the tree. They ascended a double hour's march.[5] The eagle said to Etana:

"Behold, my friend, the land, how it is.
Look upon the sea and the sides of the earth-mountain.
Lo the land becomes a mountain and the sea is turned to waters of . . ."

They ascended another double hour's march, and again the eagle remarks on the appearance of land and sea. After three double hour's marches the sea looked like the canal of a gardener. They arrived at the gates of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, that is the plane of the three paths of the fixed stars. What they saw here again fails us on the fragments, and we now come to lines which imply that Etana fears to fly higher.

"The load is too great . . . ; abandon the quest for the plant of birth."

But the eagle ascends through the next stage, to the plane of Anu and Ishtar, the Queen of Heaven. After a double hour's march the wide sea appeared as a cattle-yard. After a second double hour's march the land appeared as a garden and the sea like a wicker basket. At the end of a third double hour's ascent Etana could no longer distinguish the sea, and said:

"My friend, I will not ascend to Heaven.
Take the way; lo I will *descend* (?)."

Through the spheres they fell, and here the fragments as preserved give us no more clear information. Apparently Etana perished in his fall; for a few lines at the end refer to his wife who seems to be lamenting his death. His ghost is invoked to deliver from some trouble.[6]

Such was the issue of the vain attempt to obtain the mystic plant and reach the Paradise of the gods. From the origins of Sumerian civilization to the end of the Persian period, this tale must have been read and repeated throughout Western Asia. After the death of Alexander the Great, who had conquered and ruled Babylonia, it was transferred to him. The legend of the Ascension of Alexander spread throughout the ancient world and has descended to modern times in endless versions, Greek,

Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Syriac, and Old French. Representations of Alexander's ascent on eagles yoked together are found on tapestries, on illuminated manuscripts, painted on walls of palaces, and even in sculptures of Christian cathedrals. A Jewish scribe of the fourth century A.D. refers to it in the Talmud. "Alexander the Macedonian wished to ascend in the air. He mounted, mounted, until he saw the earth as a cup and the sea as a caldron." Here follows a *résumé* of the earliest Greek versions. Arrived at the extremity of the earth, Alexander desired to discover where the vault of Heaven reposed on the earth. His soldiers selected two great birds, which he caused to be without food for three days. He then put them under a yoke, and attached the hide of a bull to the yoke. A basket was fastened to the yoke, into which he climbed, having a long spear. To the end of this spear he attached the liver of a horse. The liver he held high above the heads of the hungry birds; in their eagerness to reach it they carried him upward. He ascended until the air became icy cold. Here he was halted by a bird-man who said to him: "Alexander, thou art ignorant of terrestrial things, why desirest thou to understand those of Heaven? Return quickly to earth, and fear lest thou be the prey of these birds. Look upon the earth below." Seized with fear Alexander looked downward, and the earth looked like a threshing floor, surrounded by a serpent, which was the sea. He descended successfully "by the mercy of supreme Providence," but landed seven days' journey from his camp. Saved from famine by a satrap he received a guard of soldiers and reached his camp.[7]

CHAPTER IV

THE MYTH OF ADAPA AND ADAM

THE theological school of Eridu held the theory that mankind lost eternal life through the jealousy of Enki (Ea), who consistently appears in Babylonian myths as the patron and saviour of mankind. The theory is set forth in a poem, preserved only in Accadian, and in fragments of two versions, one Canaanitish-Babylonian and one Assyrian. The Canaanitish version was used as a text-book.[1] Adapa of Eridu was famed in legend as a sage, and his ordinary title *apqallu* indicates that he was one of the pre-diluvian wise men. He is said to have written a work on astronomy,[2] and, like the seven sages, he was a patron of the priesthood of incantations. "The wise Adapa, sage of Eridu," restrains the demoness Lamaštu and keeps her under surveillance in Eridu.[3] The beginning of the Accadian poem concerning Adapa is lost and consequently its title. To Adapa the god Ea gave vast understanding, "that he might give names to all concepts in the earth."[4] In Hebrew mythology Yāw, having created Adam, brought before him animals and birds that he should name them. The Accadian myth is more profound in that to Adapa, "son of Ea," is attributed the origin of all nouns of human speech. If the opening lines of the myth were preserved, they might prove that Adapa was also the first man in this tradition, although one passage describes him as "human offspring," that is one descended from the human race.[5]

Ea, his creator, withheld from him eternal life. "At that time, in those years, Ea created the sage, the Eridian like a leader among men." None could annul his command; he excelled in wisdom, and the Anunnaki, gods of the Ea pantheon,

had given him his name. His hands were clean, and he was a priest of lustrations (*pašišu*), who superintended the rituals. He worked with the bakers and provided the food and holy water in the cult of the Water-god of Eridu, preparing the altar table, and without him it was not cleared away. He sailed a boat and pursued the trade of fishing for Eridu. Daily he guarded the sanctuary of Eridu, when the far-famed god Ea went in to his sleeping chamber. At the quay of Eridu he embarked on a sail-boat; the wind arose and his boat went out to sea, as he steered with his rudder. The south wind blew and his boat sank. "I will break thy wings," he said to the south wind, and as he spoke the wings of the south wind were broken. For seven days the south wind blew not and so Anu called to his messenger Ilabrat:

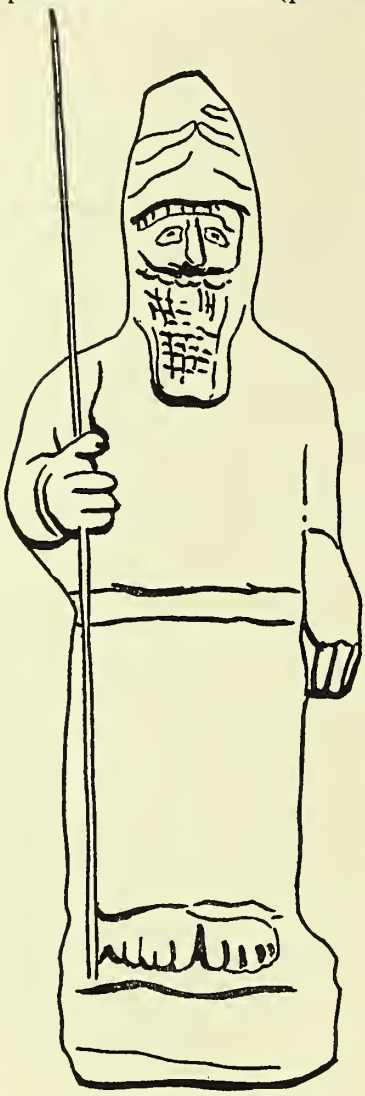

FIG. 67. ILABRAT OR PAPSUKKAL

"'Why has the south wind not blown upon the land since seven days?'
His messenger Ilabrat answered him: 'My lord,
Adapa, son of Ea, the wings of the south wind
Have broken.'"

Ilabrat, or more properly Ili-abrat, "god of the Wings," appears in mythology more commonly under the Sumerian title Papsukkal, "Chief messenger," and clay figurines, often found

in foundation boxes beneath the doors of temples, have been taken to represent this messenger of the gods.[6] Fig. 67 is a specimen of this type, identified with Papsukkal because of inscriptions on their backs, "messenger of the gods." He usually carries a wand in his right hand. There are no figures of him as a winged being. Ninsubur is the deity to whom the titles Papsukkal and Iliabrat really belong. On monuments he is represented by a raven, sometimes accompanied by the inscription, "god Papsukkal," or "god Sukkal." The Babylonians, therefore, certainly held him to be a winged messenger.[7] When Anu bestowed upon Ishtar her divine powers he addressed her in the following words:

FIG. 68. SERPENT AND TREE OF LIFE (?)

"My faithful messenger, whose lips are precious, who knows my secrets,
Ninsubur-Ili-abrat, my seemly messenger, verily shall be the executor of thy desires at thy side.
Before thee may he constantly make agreeable the intentions of god and goddess."

Ninsubur is only a form of Tammuz, who, with Ningishzida, guards the gate of Anu. When Anu heard the reply of his messenger he cried "Help," rose from his throne and said: "Let them bring this one to me." But Ea knew what had transpired in Heaven. He devised a ruse for Adapa to deceive Anu. He caused Adapa to be covered with boils, rendered him soiled with . . . and put sackcloth upon him, giving him

this advice: "When thou goest up to Heaven and comest nigh to the gate of Anu, Tammuz and Gishzida will stand in the gate of Anu and behold thee; they will question thee (saying): 'O man, for whom art thou become like this? O Adapa, for whom art thou clad in sackcloth?'" He is told to reply: "In our land two gods have disappeared and I have been brought to this plight." Then they will say to him: "Who are the two gods who have disappeared in the land?" Adapa is to reply: "Tammuz and Gishzida are they."

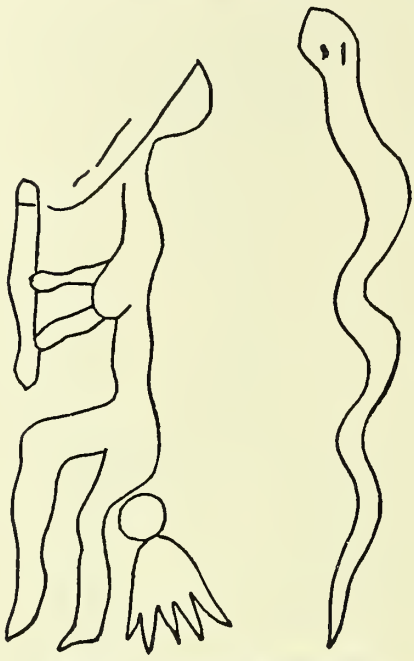

FIG. 69. WOMAN AND SERPENT

This is the only reference to the ascension of the dying gods to Heaven; Tammuz and Ninsubur were both identified with Orion, and Ningishzida was identified with Hydra. These two constellations stand at the beginning and end of the Milky Way.[8] The astral identifications were made in view of their mythological characters; Tammuz, the shepherd, is connected with Orion, called the constellation Sibzianna, "Faithful shepherd of Heaven," and Ningishzida, who is represented as a serpent deity, is, therefore, connected with Hydra. In the development of the legend, these two gods offer Adapa the bread and water of life, and it may be conjectured that the dying god had attained immortality and was received in Heaven because he had eaten these elements of divine life. The dying god was originally called Ushumgalanna, "Mighty serpent dragon of Heaven"; Tammuz and Ningishzida are only dif-

ferentiated types of this ancient deity, connected with the serpent because they are gods of the earth's fertility. There must have been a Sumerian legend of the tree of life, for the serpent is connected with trees not only on the early painted ware of Susa, but also on bowls of the Sassanian period there. Fig. 68, taken from a decoration on a bowl of the late period, has been (together with similar designs) taken to be a survival of the serpent guarding the tree of life. The artist may have in-

FIG. 70. THE TEMPTATION, ACCORDING TO SUMERIAN MYTH

tended to represent nothing more than the connection between the serpent and vegetation, but taken with the design on another bowl (Fig. 69), where the serpent stands behind a woman, it is difficult to dismiss the theory that the legend of the serpent and the tree of life in Hebrew mythology actually survives on the Susa pottery.[9] It must be of Sumerian origin; for an early roll cylinder (Fig. 70) now in the British Museum apparently does refer to the temptation as held by the Sumerians. The tree is obviously the date-palm, and two clusters of dates hang from the trunk just below the branches. On the left is a woman, behind whom stands the serpent. The man, who like Adapa is a deified protagonist of an ancient tale, has the horned head-dress of a god. The presence of the dying gods at the gates of Anu, where Adapa now finds the food of immortality,

is probably due to the legend that they had escaped the annual pains of death by receiving the ambrosia of the gods.

Ea tells Adapa that, when he explains to Tammuz and Gishzida that he has come mourning for the dying gods of the earth's fertility, they will look at each other in astonishment and speak kind words on his behalf to Anu, and "cause his face to beam upon thee." When he shall stand in Anu's presence they (Tammuz and Gishzida) will offer him "bread of death" to eat and "water of death" to drink; Ea tells him to refuse both. Thus is revealed the jealousy of the god Ea, who did not wish his worshipper to obtain immortality. He deceives him by so describing this food and drink, which were, in reality, the sacred elements of eternal life. They will also offer him a garment, and Ea tells him to put it on; and oil they will extend to him, with which Ea orders him to anoint himself.

> "The advice which I have given thee shalt thou not neglect.
> That which I have commanded hold thou fast."

The messenger of Anu came to the house of Ea and seized Adapa, "who had broken the wings of the south wind." "Bring him to me," commanded Anu.

"He caused him to take the road to Heaven, and he ascended to Heaven.
When he ascended to Heaven and came nigh to the gate of Anu,
In the gate of Anu stood Tammuz and Gishzida.
When they saw Adapa they cried: 'Help!
O man, for whom art thou become like this? O Adapa,
For whom art thou clad in sackcloth?'
'In the land two gods have disappeared and I
Am clothed in sackcloth.' 'Who are the two gods who have disappeared in the land?'
'They are Tammuz and Gishzida.' They looked at each other,
And were astonished. When Adapa before Anu, the king,
Arrived, Anu beheld him and cried:
'Come, O Adapa. The wings of the south wind, why
Hast thou broken?' Adapa answered Anu: 'My lord,
For the temple of my lord in the midst of the sea
I was fishing. The sea was like a mirror,

But the south wind rose and immersed me,
It caused me to descend to the house of the lord; [10] in the rage of my heart,
The south wind I cursed.' They answered . . . Tammuz
And Gishzid, words of mercy to Anu
Speaking. He calmed and his heart was seized with fear, (saying): [11]
'Why has Ea caused man, the unclean,
To perceive the things of Heaven and Earth? A mind
Cunning has he bestowed upon him and created him unto fame.
What shall we do for him? Bread of life
Get for him, let him eat.' Bread of life
They got for him, but he ate not. Water of life
They got for him, but he drank not. A garment
They got for him, and he put it on. Oil
They got for him, and he anointed himself.
Anu beheld him and was astonished at him, (saying):
'Come, O Adapa, why hast thou not eaten and not drunk?
Thou shalt not live . . .'"

Adapa replied that it was Ea who ordered him to act in this manner, whereupon Anu ordered his messenger to take him back to earth.

So ends the Canaanite fragment. An Assyrian fragment contains a few lines from the end of the poem. Here Anu's wrath at Ea's interference is mentioned. Adapa, from the gates of Anu, scanned the wide Heaven from east to west and saw its grandeur. Here the fate of Adapa was given, but the text is unfortunately illegible. Anu placed some penalty upon him corresponding to that imposed upon Adam by Yāw in Genesis iii.17–19. But, as in the Sumerian legend of the Fall of Man, described in Chapter V, Anu provides some alleviation for the sorrow and pain which should henceforth be the lot of man. Upon Adapa he conferred sacerdotal privileges in Eridu for ever. The fragment closes with these lines:

"In the days when Adapa, the offspring of man,
With his . . . cruelly broke the wings of the south wind,
And ascended to Heaven, so verily
Did this come to pass, and whatsoever he brought about evilly for men,
And disease which he brought about in the bodies of men,

This will the goddess Ninkarrak allay.
May the sickness depart, the disease turn aside.
Upon that man may his crime fall
And . . . may he rest not in sweet sleep."

From these lines it is obvious that the entire myth was composed as an incantation to heal the sick. The author means to say that the disease which the magician endeavours to heal was caused not by the sins of the patient, but by Adapa, whose fatal act brought death and pain into the world in an age when sorrow was unknown in Paradise. But the gods provided for man a divine physician, the goddess Gula or Ninkarrak.

Gula, often called the great physician, is a specialized form of the Mother-goddess, Mah, Ninmah, Aruru, the Accadian Bêlit-ilî. Her symbol on monuments is the dog, as in Fig. 51, third register, last figure on the right. The monuments usually include the figure of Gula, seated on a throne, the whole supported on the back of the dog. Sometimes the dog, always a hound, appears alone on boundary stones; [12] on some the dog sits beside her throne, the goddess is represented with both hands raised in prayer to the gods on behalf of men.[13] The dog seems to have been associated with Gula because she is a defender of homes. A Babylonian, in fear of demons, secured the protection of his house by the magic ritual of a priest, and was assured that "a great dog sat at his outer gate, and Gula the great physician sat on the lintel of his door." [14] But another Babylonian invoked Ninkarrak to aid him against slanderers. The following obscure lines occur in his invocation:

"At the assembly of the palace gate,
At the congregation of wise men,
O Ninkarrak, restrain thy whelps,
In the mouths of thy strong dogs place a bit." [15]

Apparently he fears that false accusations by slanderers will cause him to be brought into court, but why the goddess, who is a protectress of the righteous, should loose her dogs against

him is not clear. Perhaps her dogs refer to the slanderers, in which case the passage has no mythological meaning, and is meant to describe evil-minded men as dogs.

The myth teaches the doctrine of original sin, in this case attributed to Adapa. The doctrine arose in the orthodox priesthood as a defence of divine providence, when a Babylonian school of philosophers challenged the ancient teaching of the Sumerians, who held that the gods are good and just. It was not they who sent disease and sorrow into the world, not they who created man to die, but pain and mortality originated in the ignorance of a great ancestor, tricked by the jealousy of a god, and so passed for ever the great opportunity of mankind.

The parallel myth, as it appears in an ancient Hebrew document, has influenced the beliefs and conduct of mankind more than any legend that has ever been conceived by the poets and priests of antiquity. The Hebrew writer could not have had the same *motif* in teaching the doctrine of original sin and the origin of pain and sorrow that inspired the Babylonian author. For the pessimistic literature of the Hebrew sceptics (Job, Ecclesiastes) is much later than his period. Nor is there any trace of its origin in rituals to heal the sick. Since the Adapa legend and similar Babylonian doctrines concerning inherited sin were known in Canaan before the earliest Hebrew documents existed, it is probable that the Hebrew myth is adapted from them. Although the teaching of the Hebrew myth is the same as that of the Adapa legend, the manner by which Adam brought mortality and sorrow upon man is entirely different, and contains the episode of the serpent which does not occur in either the Adapa nor the Tagtug myth. The legend is told in the third Chapter of Genesis, and is preceded in the same document by the account of the creation of Adam, the first man, and his wife.[16]

In the account of creation given by this document, Yāw-Elōhīm planted a garden in Eden toward the east. This is

surely a survival of a Sumerian legend; for the word *edin* in Sumerian means "plain," and "Eden to the eastward," refers to some legendary part of Sumer, from the point of view of a writer in Canaan. In the Tagtug legend of Paradise, this primeval land of bliss is located in Dilmun, on the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf. In this garden he placed "man," *ādām*, afterwards used as a proper name, Adam, and all trees good for food, and "the tree of life." There was also "the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Adam was forbidden to eat from the tree of knowledge, in other words his happiness depended upon his remaining entirely unconscious of evil; for "good" has no meaning before evil exists. It was the plan of Anu to keep man (*amelûtu*) in ignorance of the secrets of Heaven and Earth, and when he found that Adapa had learned them from Ea, he had no alternative but to give him the bread and water of life. Yāw had the same intention for Adam, who became the gardener in Eden. Yāw caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and took one of his ribs, closed up the flesh, and from it made woman. They were naked and yet had no sense of shame; for shame springs from knowledge of evil. Into this garden of Paradise came the serpent, in Sumerian mythology symbol of the earth's fertility, and specially connected with Ningishzida and Tammuz. The introduction of the serpent into the myth probably rests upon the same *motif*, the jealousy of God, who, knowing that man was immortal, tempted him to his doom. Yāw had told Adam that in the day when he should eat of "the tree of knowledge" he would die.

The serpent discovered from the woman that Yāw had permitted them to eat the fruit of all the trees which He had caused to grow for them, but had forbidden them to eat from the tree "in the midst of the garden," lest they die. The serpent replied that, on the contrary, by eating from it they would discover the secrets of God, and knowing good and evil, they would become like Him. The woman took and ate and gave to her husband, who also ate. Straightway their nakedness was

revealed to them, and they concealed it with garments of fig-leaves. Then came Yāw into the garden; Adam and his wife hid themselves among the trees. Yāw called for the man who said: "I heard thy voice in the garden and was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself." By this reply Yāw discovered that he had eaten from "the tree of knowledge." Asked to explain his violation of the divine command, Adam said that the woman had taken fruit from the tree and given him to eat. The woman, questioned by Yāw, reported to Him the temptation by the serpent. The serpent, therefore, is cursed by Yāw:

"Because thou hast done this thing,
Cursed art thou above all cattle,
And above all living things of the field.
Upon thy belly shalt thou go,
And dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.
And I will put enmity between thee and the woman;
And between thy seed and her seed.
It shall bruise thy head
And thou shalt bruise its heel."

This condemnation of the serpent is introduced into the myth to explain the natural abhorrence of man for this creature, and has no connection with the subtle reason for making the serpent the cause of the Fall of Man. That rests surely upon the Babylonian theory of the jealousy of the gods of fertility, probably of Ningishzida and Tammuz, of whom the serpent was symbolic, jealous of that man who would attain immortality like themselves.

Yāw then condemns woman to the pains of child-birth, and makes her subject to her husband. Babylonian rituals contain ceremonies for the delivery of women in child-birth,[17] and it is possible that they also had a myth in which the pangs of child-birth were attributed to the sin of some heroine of ancient times, precisely as sorrow and disease were attributed to Adapa.

Yāw cursed the ground that it should no longer bear fruit

spontaneously for man; henceforth he must obtain his food by toil, and without toil the ground would now produce only thorns and thistles. Mortality was, thereafter, the lot of man; from dust had he been created and to dust must he return. After the loss of Paradise and eternal life, Yāw made for Adam and his wife coats of skin and clothed them, as Anu gave Adapa a garment after he had rejected the bread of life. In the earlier

Fig. 71. Deity Offering Poppy Branch to a Worshipper

part of this document the tree of life is mentioned, but no reference is made to its being a forbidden tree. At the end of the document Yāw expelled man from the garden of Eden, lest he also eat from the tree of life. Eden remained on earth, guarded by Cherubim and a flaming sword to bar the way to the tree of life. For, said Yāw: "the man is become like one of us to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life and eat and live for ever." The expression "one of us," implying polytheism, is clearly taken from a Babylonian source. A legend of a tree of life has been

redacted with one concerning a tree of knowledge, of which, at present, there is no trace at all in cuneiform literature.

If the scene on the seal (Fig. 70) really refers to the Temptation, then the tree of life is the date palm, at least in Sumer. The Sumerians called a plant used in medicine the *ú-nam-til*, "plant of life," Accadian *irrû*, identified by some with the poppy, from which opium is made.[18] But it is used in a mythical sense also. Suppliants of the king of Assyria wrote to him as follows: "To the king, our lord, thy servants Bêlikbi and

Fig. 72. Goddess Offering Palm Branch to Three Gods

the inhabitants of Gambulu (write), Ninurta and Gula command peace, happiness, and health of the king, our lord, for ever. Dead dogs are we, but the king (our) lord has made us live, offering the plant of life to our nostrils."[19] Of Asarhaddon it is said: "May (my) kingship be pleasing to the flesh of peoples like the plant of life." Sumerian seals sometimes shew a deity who offers a poppy branch to a worshipper (see Fig. 71), and it has been argued that the branches, which spring from the shoulders of the goddess Ishtar on a monument of a king of Lulubu in the upper valley of the Diala, are those of the poppy.[20] Fig. 72, an archaic Sumerian seal, shews a goddess offering a palm branch to three gods; the god at the left is a

deity of vegetation, indicated by palm-branches growing from all parts of his body. This scene may perhaps represent the presentation of the tree of life to the dying gods, Tammuz, Ningishzida, Ninsubur. Frequently the Sumerian seals represent a god presenting a small cup to a worshipper. Fig. 73, which is a good example of this myth, has the figure of the Mother-goddess standing behind the worshipper, in an attitude of interceding with the god on behalf of the man. The

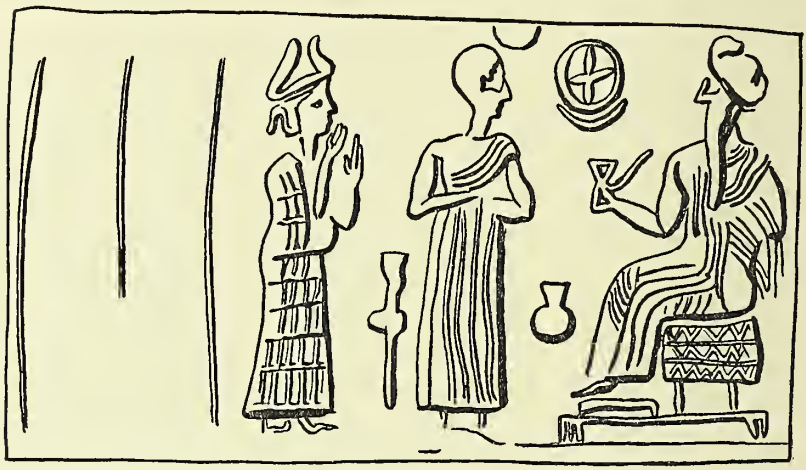

FIG. 73. MOTHER-GODDESS, WORSHIPPER, AND TAMMUZ

inscription reads: "Goddess Ishtar and god Tammuz." This scene may represent the myth of Adapa, to whom Tammuz at the command of Anu offered the water of life. Inscriptions and religious archaeology, therefore, seem to prove the existence of the myth of a plant of life, and of the water of life.

References to the Garden of Eden do not occur in Hebrew literature again until the end of the Jewish kingdom in the time of Ezekiel,[21] and the legend of Adam does not seem to have been known to any of the early Hebrew writers. Ezekiel composed a dirge on the destruction of Tyre and its king, Ithoba'al, who is described as having proclaimed himself to be a god. "In Eden, garden of God, wast thou"; and he sat

among Cherubim on the holy mountain of God. But Yāw caused him to perish from among the "sons of God."[22] Ezekiel also compared Pharaoh Hophra to a cedar whose like existed not in the "garden of God," and all the trees of Eden which are in the "garden of God" envied it. The trees of Eden in these prophecies refer to proud princes of hostile states and cities, but Ezekiel's figurative sarcasm proves that he has in mind the ancient Hebrew legend of Genesis. Adam and Eve, however, are not mentioned again in Hebrew mythology until the late Apocryphal period, when the myth formed the subject of endless allegorical and theological speculation.

CHAPTER V

THE SUMERIAN LEGENDS OF TAGTUG AND PARADISE

AMONG the primeval heroes who were clients of the Water-god, Enki-Ea, was also one Tagtug, better known under another title Uttukku, "the Weaver." Tag-tug is invariably designated as a god, and the syllables mean, literally, "maker of garments." The title was also given to a woman, latterly identified with Ishtar, the weaver, spinster, under which form she became the goddess who spins and cuts the thread of life.[1] This weaver, like Adapa, was a client of Enki, and a door-keeper of Enki in Eridu.[2] The name was also possibly pronounced Tibir,[3] "smith," "metal-worker." He is mentioned in a Sumerian poem concerning the origin of civilization which reads as follows:

"In the mountain of Heaven and Earth,
When Anu had created the gods, the Anunnaki,
When the Grain-goddess had not been created, and had not been made verdant,
When Tagtug, the . . . of the Land, had not yet been made,[4]
And Tibirra had not laid a (temple) foundation,
Ewes *bleated* not, lambs skipped not,
Goats were not, kids skipped not,
Ewes had not yet borne their lambs,
She goats had not yet borne their kids,
The name of the Grain-goddess, the purifying, and of the goddess of Flocks,
The Anunnaki, the great gods, had not yet known,
The grain *šemuš* for the thirtieth day was not,
The grain *šemuš* for the sixtieth day was not,
The grain . . . and barley-grain for the cherished multitudes, were not.

Homes for repose were not.
Tagtug had not been born, nor lifted (to his head) a crown,
The lord, the god Mirsi,[5] the precious lord, had not been born,
The god Sumugan, the watchman, had not appeared,
Men of ancient days
Had not known food,
And they knew not *tents of habitation.*
The people in *reed huts* (?) made their devotions.
Like sheep . . . they ate grass,
And they drank *rain-water.*
At that time in the place where are the forms of the gods,
In their house, 'the holy chamber' (Dukug), the goddess of flocks and the Grain-goddess had not been made to thrive.
Then they made them to occupy the house of the table of the gods.
The abundance of the goddess of flocks and of the Grain-goddess,
The Anunnaki in 'the holy chamber'
Ate and were not filled.
In their holy cattle-stall good milk . . .
The Anunnaki in 'the holy chamber'
Drank and were not filled.
In the holy park, for their (the gods') benefit,[6]
Mankind with the soul of life came into being.
Then Enki said to Enlil:
'Father Enlil, flocks and grain
In "the holy chamber" have been made plentiful.
In "the holy chamber" mightily shall they bring forth.'
By the incantation of Enki and Enlil
Flocks and grain in 'the holy chamber' brought forth.
Flocks in the folds [increased].
Pasture they provided for them abundantly.
For the Grain-goddess they prepared a house.
A yoke of four oxen for the plough they provided."

The first eighteen lines of this myth refer to the age immediately after Anu, the Heaven-god, had created the gods of the nether sea. Ashnan, the Grain-goddess, and Lahar, the goddess of sheep, had not yet appeared, nor had Tagtug, patron of the craftsmen, been born. Mirsu, god of irrigation, and Sumugan, god of the cattle, had not been sent to aid mankind. Lines nineteen to twenty-five state clearly that man existed already

in that uncivilized primeval age, and had religious instinct enough to worship Anu. The existence of the Igigi or great gods of the upper world is presupposed. But man is still a savage; now the gods in Dukug, the holy cosmic chamber, created the goddesses of corn and flocks, so that they themselves might have food, but they were not filled, obviously because civilized man had not appeared to provide them with regular sacrifices. Then men "with the soul of life" came into being, and they were created for the benefit of the gods. The theory that savage men, who ate herbs, had no souls, seems to be clear enough here, and the same belief is apparently held by the author of the Epic of Gilgamish, when he described the savage Enkidu, before he had been introduced to the ways of civilization and had learned to worship the gods.

But flocks were born and grain thrived only in the cosmic chamber. Now they are abundantly provided for man, a statement which proves clearly enough the doctrine so strenuously advocated by the representatives of the Pan-Babylonian school of Assyriologists, that what exists on earth pre-existed in Heaven, or in the home of the gods. The phraseology of the poem implies this; for the poet passes immediately from the description of the flocks and grain in Dukug to the statement that they henceforth were given unto men. The poem now continues:

"The ewes which were placed in the folds,
The shepherd caused to become prolific in the folds.
The Grain-(goddess) which stood for harvest,
The flourishing maiden, was carried away in abundance.
In the field where she lifted high her head,
Where abundance from Heaven descended,
Flocks and grain they caused to be excellent.
Abundance they caused to be among the multitude of men.
In the Land creatures with the breath of life they caused to be.
The decrees of the gods they regulated.
In the store-houses of the Land food they made plentiful.
In the sanctuaries of the Land they caused glory to be.

Him that *oppressed* (?) the house of the poor
They treated harshly, and caused it to have riches.
To two of them, whom in their land, Dilmun, they had placed,
Their glory in the temple they *augmented*."

At this point the text is too fragmentary to afford much information. Mention is made of the vine and wine, and then the Grain-goddess begins an address to Lahar, the patroness of sheep. Here there is a long lacuna, and near the end of the poem Lahar is addressing Ashnan:

"O Ashnan, take counsel with thyself,
And do thou like me give food to eat.
They behold thy laws,
And I will follow thee
Let the miller . . .
What of thine is more, what of thine is less, make equal.
Then Ashnan by her fulness was pleased in heart and to earth hastened."

Ashnan replied to Lahar:

"As for thee, Iskur (Adad) is thy lord, Sumugan is thy minister; the guardian of thy sleeping chamber."

The text of the second part of this poem, as interpreted by the writer, describes the conditions of civilization introduced, after a long age of barbarism, by the Earth and Water-gods, Enlil and Enki. If the translation of the lines referring to the punishment of those who oppress the poor is correct, the poem does not describe a sinless Paradise, but only a perfectly organized society in which the gods had established absolute justice.[7]

Another Sumerian hymn to the Grain-goddess, created by Enlil, describes the age before man had built cities, sheep-folds, and cattle-stalls; and it was Nidaba, the Grain-goddess, who inaugurated the age of civilization.[8] At the end of the poem, translated above, there is a reference to two persons who had been placed in Dilmun. This is the well known land, men-

tioned in historical and religious texts throughout the long history of Sumer, Accad, Babylonia, and Assyria; it lay on the shores of the Persian Gulf and has been located by the writer and others on the eastern shore. By some it has been identified with the island Bahrein, and also with the western or Arabian coast land opposite the island Bahrein. Whatever may have been its geographical definition in historical times, Dilmun must have included Eridu at the mouth of the Euphrates in mythology, and Dilmun was the Sumerian land and garden of Paradise. A long Sumerian poem on Paradise and the loss of eternal life has a somewhat different account of this myth than that recorded in the later Accadian poem on Adapa.[9] It bears the rubric, "Praise Nidaba," which defines the composition as a theological poem, unlike the Adapa poem, which was written as a prelude to an incantation. From the rubric one should expect that the author had written a myth on the origin of civilization, attributing it to the Grain-goddess. It presents, however, an almost complete parallel to the Hebrew legend of Adam and the Garden of Eden.

The poem is divided into the following sections:

(A). ENKI AND HIS WIFE (DAMKINA) REPOSED IN DILMUN WHERE MEN LIVED IN PARADISE, OBVERSE I–II, 19:

"They alone reposed in Dilmun;
Where Enki with his wife reposed,
That place was pure, that place was clean."

At the end of the poem translated above, "two of them" who had been placed in Dilmun, must, therefore, refer to these two deities and not to two human beings. The poem now describes the prehistoric age of bliss in Dilmun.

"In Dilmun the raven croaked not.
The *kite* shrieked not *kite-like.*
The lion mangled not.
The wolf ravaged not the lambs.

The dog knew not the kids in repose,
And the grain-eating swine he did . . .
The growing scion . . .
The birds of Heaven (*abandoned*) not their young.
None caused the doves to fly away.
None said, 'O disease of the eyes, thou art disease of the eyes.'
None said, 'O headache, thou art headache.'
None said to an old woman, 'Thou art an old woman.'
None said to an old man, 'Thou art an old man.'
In (that) city none inhabited a pure place which had not been laved with water.
None said, 'There is a man who has trespassed against a canal.'
No prince withheld his mercy.
None said, 'A liar lies.'
None said 'Alas!' in the sanctuaries of the city.
Ninsikilla [10] spoke to her father Enki (saying):
'Thou hast founded a city, thou hast founded a city, to which thou hast assigned its fate.
Dilmun, the city thou hast founded, thou hast founded a city to which thou hast assigned a fate.
[*Eridu*?] thou hast founded, a city thou hast founded, to which thou hast assigned a fate.

. . . . . .

In thy great . . . waters spring forth.
Lo, thy city drinks water in abundance.
Lo, Dilmun drinks water in abundance.
Lo, thy well of bitter waters springs forth as a well of sweet waters.
Lo, thy city is a *house by the quay border* [11] in the Land.
Lo, Dilmun is a *house by the quay border* in the Land.
Now, O Sun-god arise.
O Sun-god in Heaven stand.
He that waits in Duezenna,
In the sleeping-chamber [12] of Nanna(r),
Stands forth in prayer to thee at the mouth where the waters flow, by the sweet waters of the earth.' [13]
In his great . . . waters sprang forth.
His city drank waters in abundance.
Dilmun drank waters in abundance.
His well of bitter waters became a well of sweet waters.
In field and plain at harvest time grain *throve*.
His city became the *house by the quay border* in the Land.
Dilmun became the *house by the quay border* in the Land.
Now O Sun-god, shine forth. Verily it was so.'

The poem up to this point has been interpreted by some scholars as a description of the earth before civilization was bestowed upon mankind by Enki, and not as a description of primeval Paradise. This view does not take into consideration the totally different account in the poem translated above,[14] which is really a description of the conditions such as these interpreters wish to place upon this section of the poem under discussion. The longer poem is a continuation of the former, and obviously describes how "the two" who had been placed in Dilmun, that is Enki and his wife, instituted a sinless age of complete happiness in Dilmun. If this were not true, then there would be in the further development of the argument an account of the creation of gods, man, animals, and vegetation. The existence of man in Dilmun is clearly implied not only in the section translated above, but by the whole of the subsequent argument.

(B). REVELATION OF ENKI TO THE MOTHER-GODDESS NINTUR, WHO HAD CREATED MAN, COL. II, 20–46. SHE SHALL BEAR OFFSPRING FROM THEIR UNION.

At this point begin several obscure episodes. It is certain that they refer to the impregnation of the Mother-goddess Nintur, Ninkur, by the god Enki. This was the interpretation of many critics[15] and I was quite wrong in my earlier editions in translating these episodes as descriptions of the Deluge. Enki, the possessor of wisdom, revealed his decision to Nintur, that he would cohabit with her, and by this union was produced Tagtug or Uttu.[16]

"His purpose secretly, grandly, and kindly he made known to her.[17]
He said: 'Let none enter unto me.'[18]
Enki said,
By heaven he swore:
'Lie with me, lie with me,' were his words.
Enki beside Damgalnunna[19] spoke his command:
'The womb of Ninhursag will I impregnate.
In utero accipiat semen dei Enki.

It shall be the first day in her first month.
It shall be the second day in her second month.
It shall be the third day in her third month.
It shall be the fourth day in her fourth month.
It shall be the fifth day in her fifth month.
It shall be the sixth day in her sixth month.
It shall be the seventh day in her seventh month.
It shall be the eighth day in her eighth month.
It shall be the ninth day in her ninth month, month of the period of woman.
Like fat, like fat, like tallow,
Nintur, mother of the Land,
. . . shall bear.' "

(C). OBVERSE III, 1–8.

" Nintur by the shore of the river replied:
' *Deus Enki super me procumbet, procumbet.*' [20]
Isimu, his messenger he called:
' None shall kiss this first-born daughter,
Nintur, this first-born daughter, none shall kiss.' [21]
Isimu, his messenger, replied:
' None shall kiss this first-born daughter,
Nintur, this first-born daughter, none shall kiss.' "

(D). IMPREGNATION AND CHILD-BIRTH OF NINTUR. OBVERSE III, 9–39.

" My king (Enki), full of awfulness, yea of awfulness,
Set foot alone upon a boat.
Two attendants as watchmen he stationed.
Uber suum attigit, voluptarie eam osculans.
Enki impregnated her womb.
In utero accepit semen dei Enki."

This episode of the impregnation of the Mother-goddess Nintur in a boat on the Euphrates is now followed by an account of the nine months of her pregnancy, and the birth of a child. Then the whole episode is repeated; at the end of this repetition the following episode occurs. The offspring of this divine pair was Tagtug, the weaver and smith, founder of civilization. He is described throughout as a god.

(E). EDUCATION OF TAGTUG. OBVERSE III, 39—REVERSE II, 15.

"Tagtug she *reared*.
Nintur to Tagtug called:
'I will purge thee, and my purging . . .
I will tell thee and my words . . .
He who alone *super me procubuit, procubuit,*
Was Enki *qui super me procubuit, procubuit.*'"

Thus Tagtug learned from his mother the secret of his origin. Here there is an unfortunate break in the text, but, from a few signs, Nintur seems to be giving him his education in the midst of a garden. He is told to stand in the buildings Baraguldu and Rabgaran; for

"In the temple he has caused to sit my guide,
Enki has caused my guide to sit."

Then she tells him that two attendants will fill the canals and irrigate the fields and garden. The secret instructions given to Tagtug seem to have been discovered by Enki, for he says:

"Who art thou that in the garden . . . ?
Enki to the gardener [*said*]."

. . . . . .

Enki then sat on his throne, took his sceptre and waited for Tibir in the temple. Tibir arrived and Enki ordered him to open the door and enter, saying:

"Who art thou? "

To which Tagtug (Tibir) replied:

"I am a gardener, the *irrû* [22] plant and the fig . . ."

"I will bestow upon thee *the form of a god*,"

said Enki. And so Tagtug joyfully opened the door of the temple.

"Enki *educated* Tibir.
Joyfully he imparted to him his *counsel.*
Tagtug he *educated,* he . . . him and . . . him."

By the unfortunate break in this text the further instructions given by Enki to the gardener of Paradise are lost, and when the account can again be followed there is a description of how at least seven plants grew in the garden; this seems to be part of an address of Nintur to Tagtug, who again repeats to him the phrase that it was Enki who impregnated her.

(F). LEGEND OF THE FALL OF MAN, REVERSE II, 16–47.

This section is closely parallel to the Hebrew legend of the "tree of knowledge" in Eden. Enki summoned his messenger Isimu and said:

"I have *decreed for ever* the fate of the plants."

It is apparently Nintur, desiring to know this secret, who asks the messenger: "What is this, What is this?" If so, it was she who desired to know the names of those plants which Tagtug might eat and the name of the one forbidden.

"His messenger Isimu replied (to her?):
'My king has spoken of the nard,
He may cut therefrom and eat.
My king has spoken of the plant . . . ,
He may gather therefrom and eat.
My king has spoken of the plant . . . ,
He may cut therefrom and eat.
My king has spoken of the prickly plant . . . ,
He may gather therefrom and eat.
My king has spoken of the plant . . . ,
He may cut therefrom and eat.
My king has spoken of the plant . . . ,
He may gather therefrom and eat.
My king has spoken of the plant . . . ,
He may cut therefrom and eat.
My king has spoken of the *cassia,*
He may gather therefrom and eat.'"

Here follows the line vital to the interpretation, and unless it be taken in the sense implied by my interpretation, there can be no question of a forbidden plant, by eating which Tagtug brought upon himself the curse of the gods. The natural translation would be:

"Enki fixed the fate of the plant(s) and placed it (them) in the midst (of the garden)."

But there now follows the following curse:

"Ninhursag spoke an oath in the name of Enki,
'The face of life until he dies shall he not see.'"
The Anunnaki sat in the dust (to weep).
Violently she spoke to Enlil,
'I, Ninhursag, bore thee a child and what is my reward?'"

Obviously Tagtug had committed some sin, the consequence of which was the loss of eternal life. The expression "face of life" is obscure, but the curse clearly means that, "until he dies," that is, as long as he lives, he shall be no longer sheltered from the woes that henceforth would beset all flesh — sickness, death, and trouble. This sin is not mentioned and can be explained by interpreting the vital line of the passage above: "Enki fixed the fate of *a* plant and placed it in the midst of the garden," forbidding Tagtug to take from it to eat. This he seems to have done, bringing upon himself the same curse as Yāw placed upon Adam. It is, however, strange that the text does not refer to this sin, and this interpretation must be accepted with caution. Ninhursag, the Mother-goddess, in this episode appeals to Enlil, not to Enki, and as she was the wife of Enlil, perhaps the myth should receive a different interpretation. The *motif* of the curse may be jealousy on the part of this divine pair. Enraged by the blessings bestowed upon the offspring of Enki by Nintur, Ninhursag (who is in fact only another name for Nintur) condemns Tagtug to remain a mortal. Certainly by strict interpretation of the text and not read-

ing anything into it from the Hebrew legend of Adam, the latter is the safest explanation.

Enlil the begetter replied vehemently:

"Thou Ninhursag hast born me a child.
And so, 'In my city I will make thee a *creature*'[23] shall thy name be called.
. . . his head as a peculiar one he modelled.
His feet (?) as a peculiar one he designed.
His eyes as a peculiar one he made brilliant."

The creation of another man or god by Enlil has no apparent connection with the fate of Tagtug. Clearly Enlil created the "only one," or "peculiar one," to appease Ninhursag, who through jealousy(?) had brought about the fall of the gardener of Dilmun. According to another legend the Moon-god Sin was born by the union of Enlil and Ninlil (=Ninhursag).[24]

(G). THE MOTHER-GODDESS NINHURSAG CREATES DIVINE PATRONS TO AID IN HIS MORTAL LIFE. REVERSE III.

Enlil and Ninhursag provided for the future, decreed the fate (of Tagtug?), and fixed (his) destiny. Ninhursag now addresses someone as "my brother." This, by the nature of the address, must be Tagtug, son of Enki.

"My brother, what with thee is ill? 'My flocks are ill.'
Abu I have created for thee.
My brother, what with thee is ill? 'My wells are ill.'
Nindulla I have created for thee.
My brother, what with thee is ill? 'My teeth are ill.'
Ninsu-utud I have created for thee.
My brother, what with thee is ill? 'My mouth is ill.'
Ninkasi I have created for thee.
My brother, what with thee is ill? 'My *membrum virile* is ill.'
Nazi I have created for thee.
My brother, what with thee is ill? 'My *side* (?) is ill.'
Dazimā I have created for thee.
My brother, what with thee is ill? 'My *rib* is ill.'

Nintil I have created for thee.
My brother, what with thee is ill? 'My *intelligence* is ill.'
Enshagme I have created for thee."

These eight divinities created to serve fallen man are then further described as follows:

"These children who were born, who were provided for him —
Let Abu be lord of vegetation.
Let Nindulla be lord of Magan.
May Ninazu possess (marry?) Ninsu-utud.
Let Ninkasi be he that fills the heart.
May Umundara possess (marry?) Nazi.
May . . . possess (marry?) Dazimā.
Let Nintil be queen of the month.
Let Enshagme be lord of Dilmun."

Of these eight divine helpers of man, four are male deities, and four, Ninsu-utud, who heals the aching tooth, Nazi, Dazimā, and Nintil are goddesses. Ninkasi, god of the Vine, corresponding to the Greek Dionysus, is often defined as a goddess in Babylonian mythology. There was also the god of banquets, Siris, Sirash, who is sometimes defined as a goddess.

The ancient Hebrew legend of Adam and Eden is followed by a story of the birth of Cain and Abel, sons of Adam and Eve. Cain was a tiller of the soil and Abel a keeper of sheep. From Cain descended the following eight patrons of the arts, Enoch, Irad, Mehiyyā-El, Methūshā-El, Lamech, Jābāl, Jūbāl, and Tūbāl-Cain. The text discloses the characters of only the last three, Jābāl, patron of tents and flocks, Jubal, patron of music, Tūbāl-Cain, patron of metal-workers. Of these only one, Lamech, is of Sumerian origin; this name is probably Lumha, title of Enki as patron of singers. It is clear, then, that the Sumerian epical poem of Tagtug and Dilmun is directly connected with the ancient Hebrew document of Genesis ii.4–iv.22. Although the text of the Sumerian poem still has unrestored lacunae, and the meaning and connection of some lines remain in doubt, it is clearly the source of the most important theological myth of Semitic antiquity.

CHAPTER VI

LEGENDS OF THE DELUGE

IN Western Asia the legend of the Flood is of Sumerian origin, and is now known from the excavations at Kish and Ur to have been based upon an historical catastrophe.[1] Fig. 74 shews the Flood stratum which passes through the ruins of the temple of Ninhursag at Kish, just below plain level, and below this stratum have been found early Sumerian antiquities of the best period of their civilization. Nineteen feet below this great Flood stratum are traces of another Flood, apparently identical with a thick Flood stratum found also at Ur. The great Flood stratum at Kish is dated by inscriptions above and below it at about 3300 B.C., whereas the traces of the earlier Flood may be placed shortly after 4000 B.C. It was certainly the earlier Flood which provided the Sumerian chroniclers with their scheme of dividing the history of Sumer and Accad into the antediluvian and post-diluvian periods. Their dynastic lists begin the post-diluvian period with the first dynasty of Kish, founded by Ga-ur, preserved as Euechoros by the Greeks.[2] By no possible reduction can the founding of the first dynasty of Kish be reduced lower than 4000 B.C.

Babylonian and Assyrian scribes frequently refer to the age "before the Flood" as the *lam abubi, abubu* being the Accadian original of the Hebrew word for the Flood, *mabbûl,* and the Aramaic *māmôlā.* A king praises himself as one "[who loved to read] the writings of the age before the Flood."[3] Enmenduranna, or Enmenduranki, preserved as Euedōrachos by Berossus, was one of the legendary kings before the Flood whom the Babylonians regarded as the founder of divination and

apparently also of medicine and magic rituals of expiation.[4] These rituals had been handed down as secret instructions from the "ancient sages before the Flood." The Sumerians located the principal event of the Flood at Shuruppak, the modern ruins of which are named Fara, and one of these rituals was said to have been copied there by a sage of Nippur in the reign of Enlilbani of Isin (2144–2121 B.C.). Ashurbanipal learned to read the monumental inscriptions before the Flood. Berossus preserved this tradition in his account of the Flood. Xisuthrus, as he rendered the name Ziûsudra, last of the Sumerian antediluvian kings, warned of the Flood by Cronus, was ordered to write down all history from the beginning to the end, and to deposit the tablets at Sippar, city of the Sun-god. After his escape in a boat Xisuthrus, when the waters had dried up, found that it had stranded on a mountain in Armenia. He, therefore, descended with his wife, daughter, and pilot, bowed to the earth and offered sacrifices to the gods; these four all disappeared, and in the Babylonian account they received eternal life on an island beyond the Western Sea. When the others who had been saved in the boat descended they called for Xisuthrus, and heard his voice from the air admonishing them to be pious; for because of his own piety he had been translated to dwell with the gods. He ordered them to return to Babylonia, to search for the writings at Sippar and make them known to all men. This they did, and the Babylonians and Assyrians believed that all revealed knowledge, "the mysteries" of the expiation rituals and all true rules of conduct, had been thus preserved for them directly from the hands of the sages who lived before the deluge.[5]

The names of ten kings who lived before the Flood have been recovered. The clay prism, now in Oxford, gives the lengths of each reign, and the total is 456,000 years, a mythical figure obtained perhaps by assigning 120 *sars* or 120×3600 years to this period, which yields 432,000 years, as preserved by Berossus. A Sumerian tablet has another

version which gives only eight kings and 241,200 years or 66 *sars*. This long mythical period was received and revised by Indian and Chinese mythologists. The Chinese period or age of the thirteen kings of Heaven and eleven kings of earth, was also 432,000 years, and so was the Indian Kali-yuga. The Hindus have four cosmic cycles, divided into the proportions 4, 3, 2, 1. There are *kṛta*, 1,440,000 years of unblemished righteousness; *treta*, 1,080,000 years of three fourths righteousness; *drapāra*, 720,000 years of half righteousness; and *kali-yuga*, 360,000 years of one quarter righteousness. The Hindu tradition is apparently developed from the Sumerian-Indian-Chinese system by fanciful theological thinkers.[6]

The ten Sumerian antediluvian kings, who correspond to the ten patriarchs of one Hebrew tradition, are given below with corresponding Greek transcriptions.

SUMERIAN.	GREEK.	HEBREW.
Alulim.	Aloros.	Adam.
Alagar.	Alaparos.	Seth.
Enmeluanna.	Amēlōn.	Enosh.
Enmengalanna.	Ammenōn.	Kenan.
god-Dumuzi, the shepherd.	Daozos.	Mahalalel.
Ensibzianna.	Amempsinos.	Jared.
Enmenduranna.	Euedorachos.	Enoch.
Ubardudu.	Opartes.	Methusaleh.
Aradgin.	Ardates.	Lamech.
Ziûsudra.	Xisuthros (Sisythes)	Noah.

These Sumerian and Greek lists are obtained by critical arrangement of the sources.[7]

Sumerian and Hebrew traditions agree in placing the Flood in the time of the tenth king or patriarch.

The Syrian version of the Flood as it was transmitted and transformed at Bambyce has already been noticed in Chapter

I.[8] The earliest version has been found on a Sumerian tablet from Nippur of about the twenty-third century B.C. Not more than one quarter of this document has been preserved. It apparently follows upon the myth of Tagtug in the preceding Chapter; for with the first line preserved, Nintur, who had born Tagtug, mentions the "calamity" which had befallen mankind. To which Enki (?) replied: "Oh Nintur, what I have created. . . ." Then follow these lines spoken apparently by Enki:

" 'The Land in its foundations will I restore.
Cities wheresoever they be shall they build, and I cause their shelter to give them rest.
In my city they shall lay its brick in a holy place,
And my *dwelling* in a holy place they shall set.
Brilliantly, with all things fitting shall they finish it.
The rituals and ordinances they shall fulfil magnificently.
The earth I will water and provide them counsel.'
After Anu, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursag
Had created the dark-headed peoples
Creatures with the breath of life on earth he made plentiful.
The cattle of the field, them that are four legged, on the plains he called into being as was fitting."

Here there is a long break in which the work of creation was described and then follows this passage:

" Then kingship descended from heaven."

After the establishment of rituals and precepts, Enlil (?) founded five cities, named them and assigned each to one of the gods. To Enki he gave Eridu, to the Virgin, i.e., Innini, he gave Badtibira, to Pabilhursag he gave Larak, to Utu (Shamash) he gave Sippar, and to Aradda he gave Shuruppak.

" *Afterward* he . . . planted fruit-trees.
Little canals, whose *moistening irrigates all* (*the land*), he provided."

This description of the antediluvian period was continued in the break which recurs again here, and the reason for the

destruction of the world by a Flood is also lost. One Sumerian list of the kings before the Deluge names the same five cities as consecutive capitals. The great dynastic list has six cities, Habur (Eridu), Ellasar, Badtibira, Larak, Sippar, and Shuruppak, that is, it inserts Ellasar between the first and second. The tradition reported by Berossus in Greek has only four, Babylon, Pantibiblos, Larak, and [Shuruppak]. Babylon and Ellasar owe their distinction in this prehistoric list to local pride of scribes who redacted the legend in those cities.

The Flood is now described. Then Nintur [*cried*] like [*a woman in travail,*] and Innini wailed for her people. Enki bethought himself for counsel; the gods of Heaven and Earth [*invoked*] the names of Anu and Enlil. Enki had discovered the plan of Anu and Enlil to drown mankind. "Now at that time Ziûsudra was king, a priest of lustrations was he." Daily he worshipped the gods with reverence, bowing his face to the earth in fear of them. Then Enki "without a dream," that is not by sending him revelation by a dream, repeated to him "their command." The obscure and sudden transition of the narrative seems to imply this interpretation. Enki repeated to Ziûsudra the plan of the gods to send a flood. He was told that they had sworn by Heaven and Earth to destroy all mankind. Enki's revelation to Ziûsudra now follows:

". . . the gods a wall . . .
Ziûsudra stand thou within and hear.
Beside the wall at my left hand stand . . .
Beside the wall I will speak to the . . .
My *instructions* hear . . .
By my hand shall a deluge be sent upon the . . .
The seed of mankind shall [perish] in destruction.
This is the decision, the command of the assembly [of the gods]."

Here the instructions to build an ark and save his family are lost in a long lacuna, and when the narrative reappears the deluge is being described:

"The rain storms, mighty winds all of them, they sent all at once.
The Flood came upon the . . .
When for seven days and seven nights,
The Flood had raged over the Land,
And the huge boat had been tossed on the great waters by the storms,
The Sun-god arose shedding light in Heaven and on Earth.
Ziûsudra made an opening in the side of the great ship.
He let the light of the hero the Sun-god enter into the great ship.
Ziûsudra, the king,
Before the Sun-god he bowed his face to the ground.
The king slaughtered an ox, sheep he sacrified in great numbers."

The events after Ziûsudra and his family descended from the boat are lost in a long lacuna, and when the narrative can be taken up again he is giving his last instructions to men before he was translated by Enlil.

"By the life of Heaven and Earth shall ye swear, and by you shall it be bound (banned).
By Enlil and the life of Heaven and Earth shall ye swear and by you it shall be bound (banned).
The creatures with the breath of life shall you cause to go forth."

The last line, if correctly rendered, refers to the living things saved in the ark. Then follow a few lines from a long description of Ziûdsudra's translation to the mountain of Dilmun.

"Ziûsudra, the king,
Before Enlil bowed his face to the earth.
To him he gave life like a god.
An eternal soul like that of a god he bestowed upon him.
At that time Ziûsudra, the king,
Named, 'Saviour of living things and the seed of humanity,'
They caused to dwell in the *inaccessible* mountain, mountain of Dilmun."

The fragment ends here and the description of the mountain where he henceforth enjoyed eternal life has not been recovered.[9]

Ziûsudra left instructions to men, and a Sumerian fragment of them has been found. He gives these instructions, speaking

in didactic style, each paragraph beginning: "My son, where the sun rises." There are instructions to protect the homeless and the stranger. There seems to have been a book of wisdom attributed to the immortal Ziûsudra, or, as the Babylonians translated the name, Utnapishtim, all written in this style, and many such books have survived in the Accadian language.[10] The Hebrew didactic style, "My son," in wisdom literature is borrowed from these Accadian, and eventually Sumerian, admonitions attributed to the Babylonian Noah.

The most detailed narrative concerning the Flood is incorporated into the Epic of Gilgamish, where it is not an essential part of that myth, being introduced because Gilgamish sought for the plant of life in the legendary abode of Utnapishtim. It is written in Accadian, but the source is the older Sumerian legend. In Tablet IX, Column i, Gilgamish, terrified by the death of his friend Enkidu, determined to seek Ziûsudra or Utnapishtim, son of Ubar-Tutu. After a terrifying dream he arose and journeyed to the Mâshu [11] Mountains, upon which rests the vault of Heaven and whose foundations attain Arallû:

Col. ii, 6. "Scorpion-men guard its gate,
Whose terribleness is fierce, and whose glance is death.
Terrifying is their dazzlement, overpowering the mountain ranges.
They guard Shamash at the rising and the setting of the sun.
10. Gilgamish saw them and with terror
And dismay was his face darkened.
He took courage and saluted them.
The scorpion-man cries to his wife:
'He who comes to us — his body is flesh of the gods.'
To the scorpion-man his wife replied:
16. 'Two thirds of him is god and one third man.'" [12]

Here the interview with the scorpion-man is broken by a long lacuna, after which the narrative begins with Gilgamish's request for information concerning the route to the abode of

Utnapishtim. (Col. iii.) He is told that none before had traversed these mountains. Here there is a long break in the text, after which the scorpion-man's address to Gilgamish can again be followed. (Col. iv.) He is told to traverse the Mâshu Mountains. He pursues the "road of Shamash," that is toward the far west. His advance by stages of one double hour's march each (about six and a half miles) is described, until he has painfully done twelve stages.

47. "When he had accomplished the first hour's march he . . .
Thick was the darkness, there being no light.
It permitted him not to see the region [13] behind him."

(Col. v.) At the end of the eighth hour he cried out loudly. The eleventh hour was finished before sunrise, but at the end of the twelfth hour there was light. When he saw the trees of the . . . he dashed forward. There he found cornelian stones bearing fruit, full of foliage, and good to look upon; lapis lazuli bore . . . and fruit desirable to see. (Col. vi.) There is a further description, after a lacuna, of various precious stones in the region where Gilgamish arrived and came to (Tablet X, Col. i.) the goddess Siduri, described as a wine merchant (*sabîtu*). From an old Babylonian version [14] it seems that Gilgamish, after he reached the Paradise of trees and stones in the Mâshu Mountains, met the Sun-god who, having learned of his quest for the plant of life, was sad and thus addressed him:

Old Version, i, 7. "O Gilgamish, whither goest thou?
The life which thou seekest thou shalt not find."

And Gilgamish replied:

Col. ii, 10. "After I had roamed on the plain like a wanderer,
In the midst of the earth, the stars failed.
I lay down to sleep all years.
May my eyes see the sun, and may I enjoy the light.
Far was the darkness, where (?) is there light enough?
15. When shall the dead see the brightness of Shamash?"

Siduri, or Shiduri, is a west Semitic name of Ishtar as patroness of female wine-mixers and wine-merchants, and is described as the "goddess of Wisdom" and protecting genius of life in one text. The name is also written Shidurri[15] on a tablet of this legend from the Hittite capital. Gilgamish found her dwelling in a cave by the sea. She had a wine jar and a brewing tub, and was covered with a veil. He approached her, clad in a skin garment; there was woe in his heart and he appeared like one arrived from a far journey. The Sabîtu saw him from afar and said to herself:

ASSYR. VERSION, TAB. X

Col. i, 13. "Who knows whether this man is a slayer [of . . .]?
Whence has he flown hither in . . ."

When she saw him she fastened her gate; Gilgamish demanded admittance, threatening to shatter her door and smash the lock-pins. Apparently the Sabîtu admits him to her presence, and there follows this passage which recurs whenever Gilgamish meets one of the gods or heroes on his journey.[16] (Gilgamish describes to her his exploits with his friend Enkidu. See the Chapter on the Epic of Gilgamish):

"[We cast down Humbaba who dwelt in the] cedar [forest].
[In the *passes* of the mountains] we slew lions.
[Sabîtu] spoke to him, spoke to Gilgamish:
'The guard of the cedar forest thou didst slaughter.
[Thou didst cast down] Humbaba, who dwelt in the cedar forests.
[In the *passes*] of the mountains thou hast slain lions.
[Thou hast seized] the bull which descended from Heaven, and thou hast slaughtered him.
Why are thy cheeks pale, is thy countenance fallen?
Thy heart is made sad, thy appearance exhausted.
[And] there is woe in thy mind.
Thy face is like one who has come on a far journey.
. . . thy face is scorched by cold and heat.
. . . and thou wanderest on the plain."

Gilgamish replies to her in a passage which recurs twice again in his interviews with Ursanapi and Utnapishtim:

" Why are my cheeks not pale and is my countenance not fallen?
My heart not made sad, my appearance not exhausted?
Not woe in my mind,
And my face not like one who has come on a far journey?
My face . . . not scorched by cold and heat?
. . . and I wander not on the plain?
My friend, my adopted brother, chaser of asses of the mountain, panther of the plain,
Enkidu, my friend, my adopted brother, panther of the plain,
We who *travelled* everywhere and ascended the mountain,
We who seized the bull and slaughtered him,
We who cast down Humbaba, that dwelt in the cedar forest,
Col. ii, 1. We who in passes of the mountains slew lions,
My friend [who] went [with me] in all difficulties,
Enkidu, who went [with me] in all difficulties,
The [fate of man] has overcome him,
Six days and nights I wept over him, not handing him over to the tomb,
5. Until the worm fell on his nostril.
I feared and was frightened at death wandering on the plain.[17]
8. The affair of my friend [*weighs heavily upon me*].
I have wandered on the plain a far journey, the affair of Enkidu [*weighs heavily upon me*].
A far road I have wandered on the plain.
How shall I be silent? How shall I cry aloud?
My friend whom I love has become like clay, Enkidu whom I love has become like clay.
Shall I not sleep like him?
14. Shall I not rise (from the tomb) through all eternity? "

Siduri, according to the ancient Babylonian version, gave him this advice:

Col. iii, 1. " O Gilgamish, whither wilt thou go?
The life thou seekest thou shalt not find.
When the gods created mankind,
Death they prepared for man,
5. But life they retained in their hands.
Fill thou, O Gilgamish, thy belly.
Be merry day and night.
Every day prepare joyfulness.
Day and night dance and make music.
10. Let thy garments be made clean.

Let thy head be washed, and be thou bathed in water.
Give heed to the little one that takes hold of thy hand.
Let a wife rejoice in thy bosom.
14. For this is the mission of man."

The late version omits this advice of Siduri, which is similar to that given to him by Shamash. Now he enquires of her the way to Utnapishtim, and asks for its "sign." If it be possible he would cross the sea; if not he would wander by the plain. She tells him that none had ever crossed that sea, save the Sun-god.

ASSYR. VERSION, TAB. X

Col. ii, 25. "Deep are the waters of death which prevent access to it.
Where, O Gilgamish, wilt thou cross the sea?
When thou reachest the waters of death, what wilt thou do?"

She then gave him the name of Utnapishtim's boatman, Ur-sanapi, Sursunabu in the old version, Ur-shanabi in the Hittite translation. His name means, "servant (?) of Enki," *sanapi*, or the word for "two thirds," being a sacred number for this god. He had also another title, Puzar-Kurgal, "secret of the god Enlil," *kurgal*, "great mountain," being a title of Enlil who plotted to destroy mankind by the Flood and whose secret was discovered by Enki. The boatman of the ark was saved and translated to the isle beyond the waters of death with his lord Utnapishtim, and the epithets which he bears refer to his connection with the Flood legend.[18] There were "those of stones" with the boatman, an expression which recurs and has not been explained.[19] Ursanapi was engaged cutting *urnu* in the forest. She told Gilgamish to consult the boatman; if it be possible, to cross the sea with him, but if not to turn back.

32. "When Gilgamish heard this,
He lifted his axe to his side,
34[a]. Drew the sword from his belt.
34[b]. It whistled and descended upon the *cruel* ones.[20]
35. Like a javelin it fell among them."

For some reason Gilgamish shattered "those of stone," and in the fragmentary text which follows, Ursanapi addresses Gilgamish; a boat, the waters of death, the wide sea, and a river are mentioned.[21] Here Gilgamish is asking for a passage over the sea. Again Ursanapi addresses him:

Col. iii, 2. "Why are thy cheeks pale, is thy countenance fallen?
Thy heart is made sad, thy appearance exhausted,
[And] there is woe in thy mind.
Thy face is like one who has come on a far journey.
. . . thy face is scorched by cold and heat.
7. . . . and thou wanderest on the plain."

To this Gilgamish replies in the same lines as those of his reply to Siduri:

10. "Why are my cheeks not pale and is my countenance not fallen? etc.,

ending,

31. "Shall I not sleep like him?
Shall I not rise (from the tomb) through all eternity?"

Thus Ursanapi also hears how Gilgamish, fearing the death which had overtaken his friend Enkidu, seeks eternal life from Utnapishtim.[22]

Gilgamish now asks the boatman the way to Utnapishtim, and demands "the sign" of the way. If the way over the sea be impossible he would wander by land.

The old version has this account of the meeting of Gilgamish and the boatman:

Col. iv, 1. "He shattered them [23] in his rage,
He then stood again over against him.
Sursanabu beheld his face.
Sursanabu spoke unto him, unto Gilgamish:
5. 'Who art thou by name? O tell me!
6. I am Sursunabu, of Utnapishtim the far away.'"

Gilgamish replied:

8. "Gilgamish is my name, I
Who have come from . . .

. . . . . .

12. Now, O Sursanabu I see thy face.
Show me Utnapishtim the far away."

ASSYR. VERSION

(Col. iii, 36.) Ursanapi in his reply reminds Gilgamish of how he had shattered "those of stone." He commands him to take his axe, go to the cedar forest, and cut poles sixty cubits long.[24]

42. "Construct and make ready a *tulâ*,[25] bring it [*to me*]."

Gilgamish and Ursanapi embarked and launched the ship on the billows of the sea, for the voyage of a month and fifteen days. After three days Ursanapi reached the waters of death. He thus addressed Gilgamish:

Col. iv, 2. "Thou *crossest*, O Gilgamish, [*the waters of death*].
Let not thy hand touch the waters of death, . . .
Take thou a second, a third, and a fourth pole, O Gilgamish.
A fifth, a sixth, and a seventh pole take, O Gilgamish.
6. An eighth, a ninth, and a tenth pole take, O Gilgamish.
An eleventh, a twelfth pole take, O Gilgamish.
With one hundred and twenty (strokes) Gilgamish had come to the end of the poles.
And he loosened his girdle[26] . . .
10. Gilgamish . . .
With his hand he *caused the boat to reach the quay*.[27]
Utnapishtim sees him afar off,
And said in his heart speaking a word,
Meditating with himself:
15. 'Why are "those of stone" of the ship shattered?
And one not *belonging* to it sailing in the boat?
He who comes, what for a man is he not?
And . . .
18. I looked and what for [a god] is he not?'"

Here the narrative concerning the meeting of Gilgamish and Utnapishtim is lost. When it can be resumed Gilgamish is speaking:

Col. v, 1. "Why are my cheeks not pale, and is my countenance not fallen?
My heart not made sad, my appearance not exhausted?"

In the lacuna before this passage Utnapishtim had spoken to him the same words as Siduri and Ursanapi had done:

"Why are thy cheeks pale, is thy countenance fallen?" etc.,[28]

Gilgamish's reply is again identical with his two previous replies to the goddess wine-merchant and the boatman.[29] After these late interpolations in the Assyrian text Gilgamish explains to Utnapishtim the reason for his having crossed the sea to obtain immortality. (Col. v, 23–35.) He relates the perils of his journey through all lands, and over all seas; he had slept not, and his body was fatigued with pain and misery. He had slain wild animals for his food, and Siduri the wine-merchant had locked her gate against him. Utnapishtim's reply is preserved in a broken section of the text. He comments on the misery allotted to mankind, and, after a long break, his reflections, which form part of the wisdom attributed by the Babylonians to him, continue:

Col. vi, 26. "Build we a house for ever?
Seal we (contracts) for ever?
Do brothers divide their inheritance for ever?
Is there *begetting* for ever in the [*land*]?
29. Has the river brought up the flood . . . for ever?

. . . . . .

35. (Frail) man is bound; [30] and after he worships . . .
The Annunaki, the great gods, [*have gathered him*].
Mammit, maker of fate, together with them, has fixed the fate.
Life and death they have provided.
39. They have not made known the days of death."

The foregoing narrative, taken from Tablets nine and ten of the Epic of Gilgamish,[31] contains the pilgrimage of Gilgamish to Utnapishtim. A Babylonian map preserves their cosmological conception of the world. Fig. 75 is a simplified reproduction of this map which comes from the period of the first dynasty (2169–1870 B.C.). The inner circle represents the

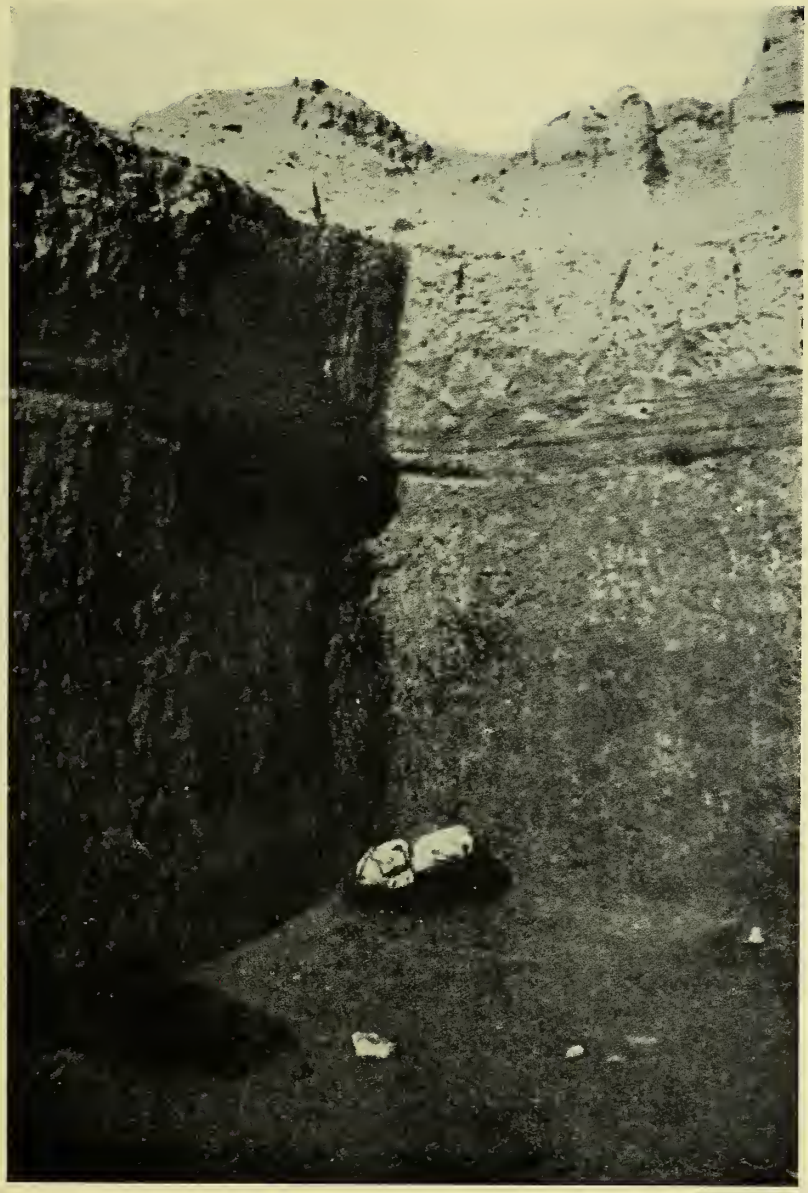

FIG. 74. FLOOD STRATUM AT KISH

earth, which floats on the sea and is surrounded by the "bitter river." Beyond this sea are seven regions (marked A, B, C, D, E, F, G). Beside region E, beyond the western sea, the scribe wrote "three? double hour marches between," that is between the sea-shore and this unknown region, and adds "place where the sun is not seen." Beside all the other regions beyond the bitter river, the scribe indicates the interven-

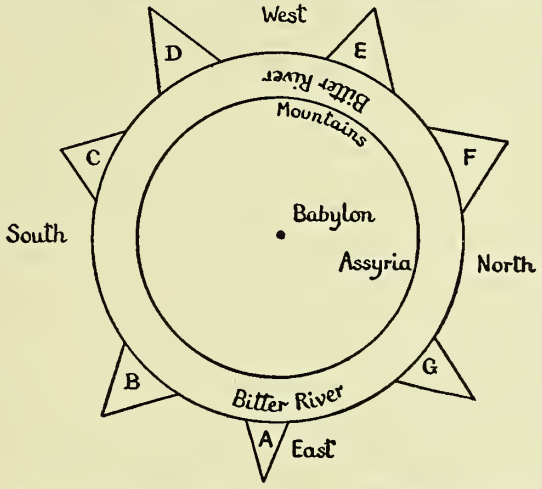

FIG. 75. BABYLONIAN MAP OF THE WORLD *circa* 2000 B.C. DESIGN ON A CLAY TABLET WITH GEOGRAPHICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL COMMENTS

ing distance. According to the Epic Gilgamish's voyage across the sea in the west occupied one month and fifteen days.

An inscription, with this figure, describes seven regions beyond the sea, each seven double hour marches from the land. The drawing is damaged. From this Babylonian cosmology the Persians obtained their idea of the seven Karshvars, of which the earth is the central one (Hvanîrâthra). The Babylonian map may have only six regions beyond the sea; for G and A are not on the plan as preserved. The earth is not indicated as a "region" on this map and consequently the plan is restored on the supposition that they conceived of seven transmarine regions. The inscription speaks of three kings who

seem to have crossed this sea of death, Utnapishtim, Sargon, and Nur-Dagan. Sargon is the famous founder of the empire of Agade in the twenty-eighth century B.C.[32]

Gilgamish, having heard the pessimistic wisdom of Utnapishtim on the fate of all men, marvels that he, who had attained immortality, nevertheless appears to be a mortal like himself. This moved him to explain how he came "to stand in the assembly of the gods," and how he "discovered life." The story of the Flood is now described to Gilgamish as a "mystery."

Tab. XI, 11. "Shuruppak there is, a city which thou knowest,[33]
Which on the bank of the Euphrates was founded.
That city was old and the gods in it
Were moved in their hearts to send the Deluge, they the great gods.
In it was their father Anu,
Their counsellor, the heroic Enlil,
Their throne-attendant Ninurta,
Their leader Ennugi.
Ninigikug, the god Ea, sat with them
And repeated their words to a reed hut:
'O reed hut, reed hut, O wall, wall,
Reed hut, hear, wall, understand.
O man of Shuruppak, son of Ubar-Tutu,
Destroy the house, build a ship.
Abandon possessions, seek life.
Hate property, seek life.
Bring up the seed of all living things into the ship.
The ship which thou shalt build,
Its proportions let be measured.
Its width and its length shall correspond.
. . . the deep cover it.'"[34]

Utnapishtim promised to do as Ea had ordered, but was concerned about what the people of Shuruppak would say when they saw him building a ship. Ea tells him to say that Enlil hates him, and he would dwell no more in their city but abide with Ea on the ocean. But Utnapishtim seems to betray the secret to his fellow citizens, for he said to them:

43. "He (Enlil) will cause too much rain to fall upon you.
To the annihilation of birds, the annihilation of fishes.
[He will destroy for you] the thriving harvest.
The sender of hailstones
47. In the night-time will cause a hailstorm to rain upon you."

As soon as the next day dawned all his people, small and great, began work on the ship. He laid down its frame on the fifth day. The bottom was one hundred and twenty cubits square or about two hundred feet square, and its walls were one hundred and twenty cubits high. Its roof corresponded, being one hundred and twenty cubits wide and long. In other words, the Babylonian ark was a huge cube two hundred feet on each side. He built into it six floors, thus dividing it into seven compartments or storeys. The interior had nine compartments, meaning apparently that each storey had nine rooms. He drove water-stoppers into its middle part. He secured a pole and put into the ship all things necessary. Six *sars* [35] of pitch he put into an oven. Three *sars* of pitch he caused to be brought into the interior. The ship's basket-bearers brought three *sars* of oil beside a *sar* of oil put into the hold, and two *sars* of oil which the boatman stowed away. He slaughtered oxen and sheep each day for feeding his workers and gave them beer, wines, and oil, and they made a carnival as on New Year's day. Utnapishtim anointed himself with oil and reposed from his labour. The date of the completion of the ship seems to have been given as the month [Tesh]ri-tu, but this is uncertain. If so, the Flood came in the autumn, but this would conflict with the reference to the destruction of the harvest. He loaded the ship with his gold and silver; all of his family embarked, and he brought in cattle and all animals of the field, and all skilled men.

86. "The Sun-god had prepared the appointed time,
'When the sender of hailstones in the night-time shall cause a hailstorm to rain.'
'Enter thou into the ship and close thy door.'
That appointed time came.

The sender of hailstones in the night-time caused a hailstorm to rain.
I looked at the appearance of the day.
Upon seeing the day (weather) I took fright.
I entered the boat and closed the door.
To the keeper of the ship, to Puzur-Kurgal the boatman,
I gave over the great house, together with its possessions.
When day broke
There went up from the eastern horizon a black cloud.
Adad thundered therein.
Shamash and Marduk went before it.
Over mountain and sea went the throne-bearers.
The mighty Irra seized away the beams (of the dams),
And Ninurta coming caused the locks to burst.
The Anunnaki bore torches,
Making the land to glow with their gleaming.
The noise of Adad came unto Heaven.
Everything light turned to darkness.
The land like . . .
For one day the hurricane . . .
Swiftly blew . . .
Like the shock of battle over the [people] it came.
Brother saw not brother
And men could not be recognized from Heaven.
The gods were terrified at the Deluge,
Withdrew and ascended to the Heaven of Anu.
The gods, crouched like dogs, lay by the outer walls.
Ishtar cried like a woman in travail.
The queen of the gods (Mah), she of the sweet voice, moaned:
'(They of) yesterday verily (are) returned to clay,
Because I commanded evil in the assembly of the gods.
How in the assembly of the gods have I commanded evil?
Or commanded the shock of battle to destroy my people?
It was I who bore my people
And like the brood of fish they (now) fill the sea.'
The gods, the Anunnaki, wept with her.
The gods sat dejected in weeping.
Their lips were closed . . .
Six days and six nights
Raged the wind, the Deluge, the hurricane devastated the land.
When the seventh day arrived, the hurricane, the Deluge, the shock of battle was broken,
Which had smitten like an army.
The sea became calm, the cyclone died away, the Deluge ceased.

I looked upon the sea and the sound of voices had ended.
And all mankind had turned to clay.
Like a roof the hedged park was levelled.
I opened a window and the light fell on my cheek.
I kneeled and sat down to weep,
Tears streaming on my cheeks.
I looked on the quarters of the billowing sea.
A region stood out at a distance of twelve double hour marches.
The boat touched upon mount Niṣir.[36]
Mount Niṣir held it fast and allowed it not to move."

On the seventh day Utnapishtim released a dove, which went forth and returned, for it found no resting place. He released a swallow, which returned. He sent forth a raven which saw that the waters were drying up; it found food, wallowed in mud, scratched and returned not. And so he knew that the waters were dried up, and he released the animals to the four winds and made an offering on the top of the mountain. The gods smelled the incense of cedar and myrtle. They assembled like flies about Utnapishtim as he sacrificed; for man had been created to serve the gods and they now hungered for food of the burnt offerings. Then came Mah, mother of men and queen of the gods. She bore the great *jewels*, which Anu had made for her and said:

"O ye gods, these here, as I may not forget my lapis lazuli neck-lace,
So shall I remember these days and forget not forever.
Let the gods come to the libation;
But Enlil shall not come to the libation.
For he was heedless and brought about the Deluge,
And fated my peoples to disaster."

When Enlil came and saw the ship he was enraged against the gods of Heaven:

"And did anyone escape with (his) life? No man shall live in the disaster."

Then his son Ninurta replied:

"Who but Ea contrives schemes? And Ea knows all plans."

Ea at once admits his intervention to save mankind and spoke to Enlil:

178. "O thou sage of the gods, and heroic,
How wast thou heedless and didst send the Deluge?
180. On the sinner place his sin; on the frivolous place his frivolity.
Desist, let him not be cut off; consider, let him not . . ."

Enki, therefore, admits that Enlil's reason for sending the Flood was the sin of mankind, but not all men were sinners and he should not have destroyed the righteous. Both versions of the Flood story in the Hebrew text of Genesis vi.5–8 and vi. 9–22 attribute the Flood to the sins of men among whom only Noah was found righteous by Yāw or Elōhim. According to the Hebrew version all received their just rewards. The tradition of the total destruction of mankind by a Flood occurred in the Irra myth,[37] where another universal disaster by wild beasts was mentioned. A myth, commonly designated as the Poem of Ea and Atarhasis, describes a series of world calamities caused by Enlil, drought, pestilence, and finally a flood, discussed in Chapter VIII. The destruction of Babylonia by Irra seems to have been based upon a later political catastrophe, but Ea now reminds Enlil of all these former catastrophes and at the end includes one caused by Irra, which cannot be that described in Chapter V.

182. "Instead [38] of thy bringing about a deluge, let a lion come up and decimate the people.
Instead of thy bringing about a deluge, let a leopard come up and decimate the people.
Instead of thy bringing about a deluge, let hunger prevail and the land . . .
185. Instead of bringing about a deluge, let Irra come up and the people . . ."

Ea then tells Enlil how he caused Utnapishtim, here called *atraḫasis*, "the exceedingly wise," to have a dream, by which he learned the plan of the gods to send the Flood. But above (lines 19–31) this version had another explanation; Ea had

spoken directly to Utnapishtim in a mysterious manner, communicating his warning by a reed hut. This discrepancy in the narrative is due to redaction of documents containing divergent accounts of the legend. Ea defends the theory of individual responsibility, which is, in fact, contrary to the accepted Babylonian principle of communal responsibility. Enlil's course of action was entirely harmonious with the Babylonian theory of sin and punishment, and especially with the doctrine that from Adapa and Tagtug all men had inherited sin and deserved punishment. If one man and his family escaped this disaster it was due to the intrigue of Ea, as the loss of eternal life through Adapa was due to his intrigue inspired by jealousy. Noah's deliverance in the Hebrew version is clearly based upon the doctrine advocated by Ea in the Assyrian edition of the Gilgamish Epic. He was saved because he was righteous.

Ea convinced Enlil that he was wrong in attempting to destroy all men because many were sinful, or at least the poet so assumes, and he ends his address with the following words:

"And so now take ye counsel concerning him."

This is addressed to all the gods who had aided Enlil in his plan to destroy all living creatures. And so Enlil ascended into the boat, took Utnapishtim by the hand and led him forth with his wife whom he caused to kneel at his side. Enlil touched their foreheads, stood between them and blessed them.

193. "Formerly Utnapishtim was a man,
But now Utnapishtim and his wife shall be like the gods, even us.
Utnapishtim shall dwell far away at the mouth of the rivers."

Here again there seems to be a confusion of sources, for Gilgamish's journey with the boatman across the western sea to find Utnapishtim as related in Tablets nine and ten cannot be reconciled with the location of the land of the blessed at the mouth of the rivers in Tablet eleven, or the Flood story. The "mouth

of the rivers" is surely taken from the old Sumerian legend in which Ziûsudra was translated to Dilmun. Obviously some island at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates is meant here. Utnapishtim thus told Gilgamish the story of the Flood and how he had attained immortality. In reply to Gilgamish's quest for the same blessing from the gods he said:

197. "Now who of the gods, for thee, will take thee also into their assembly?"

For Gilgamish, on meeting Utnapishtim, had marvelled how he had been received into the assembly of the gods.

198. "The life which thou seekest shalt thou find?
Come, lie down to sleep six days and seven nights."

When he sat down á deep sleep fell upon him and Utnapishtim said to his wife:

"See the strong man who desires life!
Sleep like a storm blows over him."

His wife urged her husband to wake him and let him return by the way he had come. Utnapishtim's reply is enigmatic and has been variously interpreted:

210. "Mankind is evil, but is it evil for thee?"

Apparently he means to say that to send him back to his land would be to shew no mercy. Although mankind is wicked, that is the concern of the gods and not theirs. There follows here a magical ceremony whose meaning is obscure. Utnapishtim orders his wife to bake seven breads and place them by the head of Gilgamish as he lies in deep sleep beside his boat.

215. "His first bread was dry.
The second was kneaded, the fourth was white, his roasted bread.
The fifth, she put *šîbu* with it, the sixth was cooked.
218. The seventh — suddenly he touched him and the man awoke."

Gilgamish on waking complains of being stiff and of having been suddenly roused from his sleep. He is told to count his breads. He asks Utnapishtim how he should proceed and where he should go.

231. The plunderer has seized my . . .
Death sits in my sleeping chamber
And in the place . . . has death placed."

Utnapishtim, now angry with his boatman for having conducted to his quay this mortal, covered with sores and exhausted in strength, thus addressed Ursanapi:

239. "Take him and bring him to the washing-place.
Let him wash his sores in water that they be like snow.
Let him cast off his skins and the sea carry (them) away.
Well shall his body be clothed.
Let the turban of his head be made new.
With a garment, the clothing of his secret parts, let him be clothed.
Until he comes to his city,
Until he arrives on his route,
Shall the garment not *be soiled*, but remain new."

And so Ursanapi washed and clothed Gilgamish in new garments. Now they again embark in their boat and set out to sea. Then Utnapishtim's wife said to her husband:

259. "Gilgamish goes, he is weary, he labours.
What wilt thou give him? he returns to his land."

And so Gilgamish lifted his pole and pushed the boat to the shore, when Utnapishtim said to him:

264. "Gilgamish, thou art gone, thou art weary, thou labourest.
What shall I give thee? thou returnest to thy land.
I will reveal to thee a secret matter.
And not [shalt thou disclose it]; lo I will tell thee.
268. There is *a* plant like a briar [*in the midst*] of the *ocean*.
Whose thorn is like the rose and it will [*prick thy hand*].
If thy hand attains that plant [thou shalt *live* (?)]."

When Gilgamish heard this he tied heavy stones [to his feet], which drew him to the ocean. The word used for "ocean" means the mythical freshwater sea beneath the earth; it is difficult to determine what meaning the myth concerning the location of this plant intends to convey. The plant of healing, *kiškānû*, grew in the ocean where dwells Ea, the Water-god, at the junction of the two rivers. The myth, as narrated here, has brought Gilgamish to a land beyond the bitter waters and beyond the extreme limits of the earth and the underworld ocean. Apparently this version has again made use of the older Sumerian poem which located the abode of Utnapishtim on an island in the Persian Gulf. The plant grew in the depths of a freshwater lake or fountain. Gilgamish obtained it, and, casting off each stone from his feet, rose to the surface and said to the boatman:

288. "O Ursanapi, this plant is the plant of *metamorphosis*
By which man obtains his *vigour*.
I will carry it to Erech of the sheep-fold, will give it to eat to the . . . and may he cut it off.
Its name is, 'The old man becomes a young man.'
I will eat and return to my youth again."

They now set out on their return voyage across the sea. After twenty double hours they broke bread. After thirty hours they rested. Gilgamish saw a spring and descended to bathe. A serpent smelled the odour of the plant, came up and carried it away. As the serpent returned, it cast off its skin. And so it was the serpent and not man that received the power of renewing its youth. Gilgamish sat down to weep:

293. "For whom of mine, O Ursanapi, are my arms weary?
For whom of mine is the blood of my heart perished?
I have done myself no good.
A lion of the earth had done good for himself.
Now to a distance twenty double hours the wave carries the plant away.
As I opened the jar it poured out the equipment.
299. But I have found the marvel which was placed beside me; I will depart."

After fifty double hours they reached Erech. It is difficult to understand why Ursanapi abandoned Utnapishtim and returned to live among mortals. Gilgamish tells him to ascend the wall and walk about on it, to look for its dedication if perchance its brick inscription had not been replaced, or the seven wise ones had not laid its foundation.

In following the narrative of the Flood as told in the eleventh book of the Epic of Gilgamish, the wanderings of Gilgamish have been included, since the mythology concerning Ziûsudra or Utnapishtim is so closely connected with it. The episode of the quest for the plant of rejuvenation has been also included, although it forms in reality one of the major topics of the Gilgamish myth. This episode has no connection with the Flood, but it completes the narrative of Gilgamish's Odyssey.

The myth incidentally explains the well known phenomenon of the annual rejuvenation of the serpent, and adds to the legends of Adapa and Tagtug still another legend of how man lost eternal life. The serpent's theft of the plant has been found in a Sumerian incantation against "serpent seizing," that is, to heal a person seized by a serpent. Into this incantation which begins: "O serpent of double tongue, double tongue, 'Great serpent' is its name," a reference to the theft of the plant has been incorporated: [39]

"The serpent by the stone, the serpent in the water, the serpent at the quay of life,
Seized the watercress.
O woe, the dog tongue, the watercress it seized."

The plant of rejuvenation was, therefore, the *siḫlû*, a kind of cress or mustard.

The legend of the serpent's theft of the plant, "The old becomes young," passed early into Greek mythology by way of Asia Minor. Aelian tells the following story about the snake called Dipsas.

"I must also sing a song upon this creature, a story which in fact I know by hearsay, that I may not appear to be ignorant of

it. Tradition tells us that Prometheus stole fire, and the legend relates that Zeus was indignant, and gave to those who informed about the theft a drug which was an antidote to old age. I have been told that the recipients put it on the back of an ass, who went off carrying his burden. It was summer time, and the thirsty beast went to a spring to quench his thirst. The snake that guarded it stopped him and was driving him off, but the ass in his distress gave him as payment for the 'cup o' kindness' the drug which he was carrying. So an exchange took place; the one drank, and the other doffed his slough, taking upon him, as the story goes, the ass's thirst. What then? Am I the maker of the legend? Nay, I cannot say so; since before me Sophocles, the tragic poet, and Deinolochus, the antagonist of Epicharmus, and Ibycus of Rhegium and Aristias (?) and Apollophanes, comic poets, sing of it." [40]

The names of some of these poets which Aelian has preserved are significant, for they had some connection with Asia Minor. Ibycus of the sixth century B.C. lived at the court of Polycrates in Samos; and it is recognized that Sophocles shews traces of familiarity with the eastern stories of Herodotus. Again, Nicander, a didactic poet of the second century B.C., a native of Colophon in Lydia, tells in his *Theriaca* what he calls "an old-world tale" about the reason why the Dipsas has acquired its name. This title "Thirsty" means that the snake causes intense thirst in the victims of its bite, and the story gives the reason why snakes cast their slough. It runs as follows:

"An old-world tale is preserved among men, that when Cronus' eldest son became master of Heaven, he divided up in his wisdom glorious governments amongst his brethren, and gave youth as a reward to short-lived men; so honouring them, because they disclosed the thief of fire, fools that they were! for they got no gain from their evil counsel. Slow and weary they made their gift follow upon 'White-coat.' 'Frisky' sped on with a throat burning with thirst; and seeing a deadly reptile in its hole, he wagged his tail and besought

the creature to succour his evil plight. Then the snake asked the poor fool for the load which he had taken upon his back, and the ass in his necessity did not refuse it. From that time forth reptiles cast their aged slough, but evil old age envelops men; while the deadly beast received 'Brayer's' complaint, and inflicts a scarce-seen wound."

The Scholiast on the passage gives two versions of the story which differ only in one respect: in the first, mankind entreats the gods to give them youth, to the intent that they might never grow old; the other tale he calls "Promethean," and in it, as in Nicander, the gift of "Never-grow-old" is given to mankind as a reward for disclosing who it was who stole fire. He adds that the story is in Sophocles' *Kōphoi*.[41]

Two more small Accadian fragments of the Flood story have been recovered, but they add no material information to the two principal texts discussed in this Chapter. They only prove the popularity of the legend among the Babylonians and Assyrians.[42] In West Semitic mythology the legend survived among the Aramaeans at Bambyce,[43] and among the Hebrews. The Hebrew story has survived in two sources, one early and one late. They have been redacted into a single document in Genesis vi.5–ix, but are easily distinguished. The version of the early source so far as its narrative was preserved by the later revisers has the following account.

Yāw saw that all men were wicked, and repented that he had made man. And He said, "I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth, both man and beast, and the creeping thing and the fowl of the air." Only Noah found favour before Yāw, who said to him: "Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I found righteous before me in this generation." He was commanded to take with him into the ark seven males and seven females of every kind of clean beast, a male and a female of every kind of unclean beast; also seven males and seven females of all kinds of birds. These instructions were given seven days before the Flood. Yāw predicted

that He would cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and nights. The Accadian version does not state the number of days between the warning by Ea and the "fixed time" of the Flood, but only that Utnapishtim laid down the frame of the ark on the fifth day. The rain-storms lasted only six days and nights in the Accadian version, and the disaster was increased by the breaking of dams and locks.

And so it rained forty days and forty nights as Yāw had said; the waters increased and bore up the ark. All living things on the earth were destroyed. When the rain ceased at the end of forty days Noah opened the window of the ark and sent forth a raven which went to and fro until the waters dried up. The word for raven in the Hebrew text is the same as in the Accadian version, where it is the third bird sent forth, which found the waters drying up and returned not. It is clear that the Hebrew account depends upon the Accadian, but has changed the order of the release of the birds.

Noah sent forth the dove, which found no resting place for the sole of her foot and returned to the ark, precisely as in the Accadian account. He waited another seven days and again sent out the dove, which returned with an olive leaf in her mouth. After another seven days he again sent forth the dove, "which returned not again to him any more." He then built an altar and sacrificed of every clean beast and fowl; Yāw smelled the sweet savour of the sacrifices. This is taken almost literally from the Accadian narrative of Utnapishtim's sacrifice and how the gods smelled its sweet odour. Yāw now resolves never again to curse the ground because of man's innate sinfulness nor to smite again all living things; but henceforth the natural order of nature shall prevail, as He had imposed it upon Adam and his seed after the expulsion from Eden. Man must sow and reap, there shall be cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night.

The soliloquy of Yāw is again based upon the polytheistic version of the Accadian narrative, where Ea convinced Enlil of his error in causing all life to be destroyed because of man's

sinful nature and his wrong in punishing the righteous with the sinful. Yāw declares, entirely in accordance with Sumero-Babylonian theology, that "the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth up." The Hebrew narrative is entirely monotheistic in spirit and teaching. The only trace of polytheism which the writer allowed to survive is in the reference to Yāw's smelling the incense of the sacrifice. This is all the more remarkable in view of the obvious dependence of this early Hebrew writer upon the Accadian polytheistic narrative.[44]

The second and later Hebrew account of the Flood invariably used the name Elōhim for the monotheistic deity, and although written at a later period than the source discussed above, is certainly based upon a source equally ancient. It begins by giving the generations of Noah, i.e., Shem, Ham, and Japhet; Noah was "a just man who walked with God." Elōhim found that "all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth," and said to Noah that "the end of all flesh is come before me." He commanded him to build an ark with rooms in it and to pitch it within and without. The length was three hundred cubits, or four hundred and forty-three feet; its breadth fifty cubits or seventy-four feet; the height thirty cubits, or forty-four feet. It had three stories and a door at the side.

Elōhim revealed to Noah his intention to send the *mabbūl*, "Flood," a word which is not used by the writer of the other document.[45] It is probably a corruption of the word *abubu* consistently used in the Accadian sources. He promised to make a covenant with Noah, which was fulfilled after the Flood. Noah was commanded to enter into the ark with his sons, his wife, and his sons' wives. Of each kind of living thing he must take a male and a female into the ark. Noah was six hundred years old when the Flood came; he entered the ark with his sons, his wife, and his sons' wives, and took two of all beasts, clean and unclean, of all fowls and creeping things.

He entered the ark on the seventeenth day of the second month. This is usually taken to be the month corresponding

approximately to May, the year beginning in the spring according to the later Hebrew system. On that same day "the fountains of the nether sea were cleft asunder and the windows of Heaven opened," the writer using the same Babylonian cosmological conceptions as he had employed in his description of the creation of Heaven and earth in Genesis i.6–7. Here again his narrative reveals intimate knowledge of the Babylonian account. The waters covered the earth fifteen cubits deep, and the mountains were submerged. All living creatures perished. The waters covered the earth one hundred and fifty days, when Elōhim caused a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters began to dry up. The ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat in Armenia, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, but not until the first day of the tenth month did the tops of the mountains appear. By the beginning of the next year, on the first day of the first month the waters had disappeared, and by the twenty-seventh day of the second month the earth was dry. The Flood in this narrative lasted a year and eleven days. This writer makes no reference to the sending forth of a raven and a dove, but passes immediately to the command of Elōhim to Noah, "Go forth from the ark." And so he and his family descended with all the living things. Elōhim now blessed Noah, which corresponds to the blessing of Utnapishtim, who received eternal life at the hands of Enlil. The blessing of Noah is entirely different, for it contains religious and legal instructions, and in content corresponds more to the instructions given by Xisuthrus to his family in the account preserved by Berossus.[46]

The blessing of Noah by Elōhim marks a distinct moral and religious advance upon all preceding narratives of the Flood story and is clearly monotheistic. Man shall henceforth be master of all living things, and they shall be his meat, but he is forbidden to eat flesh which contains blood; for blood is the seat of life and sacred to God. He is also forbidden to take human life, and there is also the extraordinary instruction that

every beast which slays man shall be held accountable by Elōhim. This theory, in which the death of man by an animal is held to be murder is peculiar to Hebrew religion. Babylonian law merely imposed a fine on the owner of an ox which gored a man to death, if the owner knew that the ox was wont to gore. In Hebrew law both ox and owner were put to death. Babylonian law makes no reference at all to a formerly inoffensive ox which gored a man, but Hebrew law not only required such an ox to be stoned to death, but even its flesh might not be eaten. Elōhim's instructions on this point rest upon a more profoundly religious conception of animal life than that found in any other Semitic religion or in Sumerian religion.

Elōhim now fulfils his covenant with Noah and with his seed after him, that not again should a flood destroy the earth, and the sign of this covenant was that henceforth his "bow" should be seen in the clouds. This is apparently the literal meaning of the text, and assumes that the rainbow was not previously known to man. It is difficult to deny that the writer actually means to explain this natural phenomenon by this clearly mythological origin. The word employed for "rainbow" here is the ordinary Accadian and Hebrew word for "bow," and never means "rainbow" in Accadian, nor is there any such mythological explanation found in Accadian. The bow which Marduk used in his battle with Tiamat became the Bow Star or Canis Major in Babylonian mythology. Yāw and Elōhim fought the same primeval battle with the dragon of Chaos,[47] and beyond doubt his bow was identified with the rainbow in Hebrew mythology. This identification would have been natural in the case of Yāw, originally the god of clouds and storms. The word for rainbow in Sumerian and Accadian is unknown.[48]

CHAPTER VII

THE EPIC OF GILGAMISH

THE standard Assyrian edition of the legend of Gilgamish has twelve Tablets; three Tablets of the old Accadian edition have been found, one of which is numbered (Tablet II), and these do not agree in content with the corresponding numbers of the Assyrian version. The number " twelve " is, therefore, accidental, and the authors of this epic clearly did not adapt the episodes to the twelve months. The myth contains two principal themes which are interwoven with many minor ones, the education of the savage Enkidu and Gilgamish's quest of a plant by which he might escape death. The major theme is the mortality of man, and has been discussed in the preceding Chapter. Only fragments of the original Sumerian epic have been recovered, and it is probable that it did not originally contain anything more than the narrative of the exploits of Gilgamish and Enkidu, the latter's death, and Gilgamish's wanderings to escape the eternal fate of man.

Gilgamish was an historical character, and fourth king of the first dynasty of Erech; his father is said to have been a *lilla*, which probably means an ignorant person, a fool.[1] For some reason legends concerning him were rife in Sumer, and one has been preserved by the late Greek writer Aelian, who tells the following story. Seuēchorus, king of the Babylonians, heard how his astrologers had prophesied that his daughter would bear a child and that this child would seize the kingdom. He locked his daughter in the citadel, but she bore a son by an obscure man. The king's guards threw the child from the tower. An eagle, perceiving him fall, seized him by the back and carried the babe to a gardener who reared him. This child was Gilgamos, who became king. The fragments of the origi-

nal Sumerian epic do not yield much information.[2] One of these texts contains an episode not mentioned in the Accadian version, a battle with the dragon Zû.[3] It was, however, the god Lugalbanda, originally a king of Erech, and second predecessor of Gilgamish, who smote Zû,[4] an exploit attributed in later mythology to Gilgamish.

Like his predecessors in the early Erech dynasty, Lugalbanda and Tammuz,[5] Gilgamish became a recognized deity. A prayer to him in a ritual of expiation begins:

> "Gilgamish, all powerful king, judge of the Anunnaki,
> Prince, the solicitous, mighty among men."

The prayer emphasizes his judicial insight into the affairs of men, and it was the Sun-god who entrusted him with the supervision of judgment and decision.[6] He seems to have become an underworld deity, and is mentioned in omens with Ningishzida, and associated with the serpent.[7] His constant association with Shamash in magic indicates a connection in late mythology with the Sun-god, and especially with the Sun-god in the nether world. A man harassed by the ghosts of his dead relatives, prays that they stand before Shamash and Gilgamish, who consign them to imprisonment in Hell. He is called "lord of the lower world," and associated with Tammuz.[8] He had control of the souls of heroes and in the month Ab (July-August), he released them from their prison house for nine days.[9] For he, although a god, had crossed the Hubur river of death, and had taken his place among the gods of the "great city" of the dead.

The Accadian Epic of Gilgamish was known from its first line, "He who saw all things." Tablet I, Col. i, begins with an account of the wisdom of Gilgamish, how he discovered the mysterious wisdom of the gods and brought home information about the period before the Flood. He made a far journey in weariness and pain and *engraved* on a stela all his labours. He built the wall of Erech, a fact also referred to by a later ruler of that city. He looked at the wall of Eanna, Anu's tem-

ple, which was made like brass and examined its foundation wall, and attained the thresholds which had been there since long before. He examined its foundations to discover whether they were made of kiln-baked bricks, and whether they had been laid by the seven wise men of old. There followed here in a lacuna an account of his restoration of Eanna.

(Col. ii.) In the next part of the text the poet describes his appearance. He was two thirds god and one third man. He had no equal and his weapons went forth. The men of Erech dreaded him. He decimated them, leaving not a son to his father nor a maiden to her mother. The gods heard the lament of daughters and wives and said to the Mother-goddess Aruru:

"Thou hast caused to come into being a son, fierce like a wild bull and high is his head."

After describing again the tyranny of this "shepherd of Erech" they appealed to Aruru:

"Thou, Aruru, hast created Gilgamish,
And now create his like.
Verily let his rage be like to the rage of his heart.
Let them be rivals and Erech repose."

And so Aruru washed her hands, cut off a piece of clay and cast it on the ground, and created Enkidu the hero, a hostile offspring. His body was covered with hair, and the hair of his head was like that of a woman.

"The shag of his head hair grew luxuriantly like corn.
He knew not men and the Land.
He was clothed like Sumugan (the god of cattle),
Eating grass with the kids,
Drinking at the watering place with the cattle."

Enkidu is the representative of prehistoric and savage man, before he had been civilized. In late mythology the name has always the determinative for "god," and in fact, like Gilgamish and many other ancient heroes, he received the divine title and is found even in the official pantheon.[10] The name occurs

in very ancient times without the title of deity,[11] and is explained by the scribes as " he who causes the canals and water courses to lave the corn, and make the grain to thrive." The word was also pronounced Enkimdu, and the Hittites borrowed it as Enkita. In the legend of the origin of civilization, discussed in Chapter IV, the men of the prehistoric period ate grass like sheep and drank water from the springs. They knew not food as prepared by men, and in fact the half human creatures of that period were not called " man with the soul

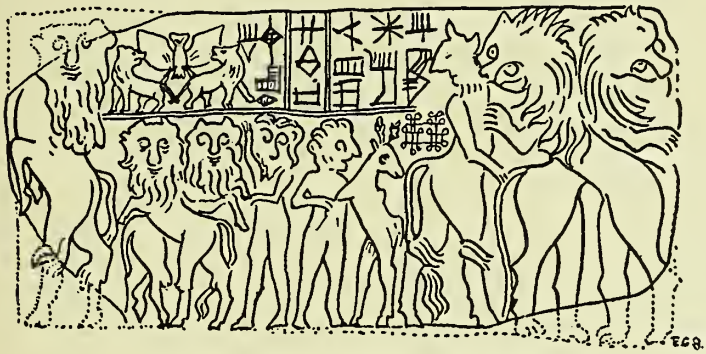

Fig. 76. Enkidu in Combat with Two Lions

of life "; for as such he only came into being after the gods had created the goddesses of flocks and grain, and made civilization possible.[12]

The archaeological representations of Enkidu and Gilgamish occur on seals of the early period and were found at Kish below the riverine stratum, which certainly represents one of the floods which destroyed the cities of the Euphrates Valley. Since Gilgamish, in this epic, is placed after the famous Flood described by Ziûsudra, it is clear that the Flood of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Hebrew legend must refer to one of much earlier date, traces of which were found at Kish and Ur almost at water level, and not later than 3500 B.C. and probably earlier. Fig. 76 shews a seal of the period *circa* 2730 B.C. On the right in the group of large figures Enkidu appears in combat with two lions, one of which attacks him with left paw

lacerating his breast. The lower parts of Enkidu are those of a bull with long tail falling to the ground and shaggy tufts of hair grow about his knees. The bust, arms, and bearded face are human, but the head has the horns and ears of a bull. The long, bird-like nose is characteristic of all the innumerable representations of Enkidu and Gilgamish which occur prolifically in every ancient Sumerian city.[13] To the right of the lions is the human-headed bull with long beard. At the left of this

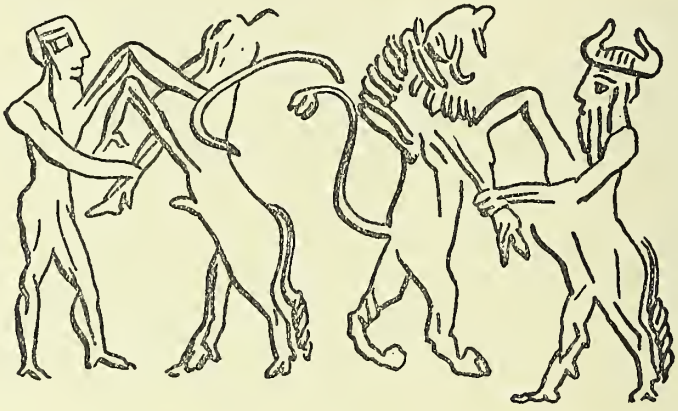

Fig. 77. Gilgamish and Enkidu. Cylinder Seal from Kish. Agade Period

scene in smaller dimensions are two representations of the divine bull in conflict with Gilgamish. The conflict of Enkidu and Gilgamish with this "bull of Heaven" has already been described.[14]

In describing this seal, which is utilized here specifically to illustrate the agreement between the description of Enkidu in the text and the representations of him in art, the discussion has anticipated the story. Enkidu's conflict with lions is repeatedly mentioned in later parts of the epic. A good example of the representations of Gilgamish in combat with a bull, and of Enkidu with a lion, current in the period of the Agade dynasty is seen in Fig. 77 from Kish.

A hunter met Enkidu at the well where Enkidu was drink-

ing and was terrified at his appearance, and "his face was like one who had come on a far journey." He entered his house and said to his father:

Col. iii, 2. "My father, a peculiar man there is who has come from the mountain.
In the land mighty is his strength.
His strength has been made mighty as the army of Anu.
5. He goes about in thy land [like . . .]
Eating grass with the cattle always,
And his feet are ever set at the watering place.
I feared and came not nigh him,
He has filled the wells which I dug . . . ,
10. Torn the nets which I stretched out.
He caused the cattle, the flocks of the field, to go away from me,
Permitting me not to work in the field."

His father sends him to Gilgamish in Erech and says that Gilgamish will advise him to take a harlot and lead her to Enkidu. He will love her and abandon his cattle. And so he seeks Gilgamish in Erech and repeats to him the description of Enkidu and his malevolent behaviour. Gilgamish directed him to take a harlot, and when Enkidu follows the cattle to the watering-place let her entice him with her sexual attractions. He will approach her and the cattle will abandon him.

The scene represented in Fig. 12 probably refers to this story of the seduction of Enkidu. He is seen there in combat with the bull of Heaven, but behind him, supported by two kneeling figures, is a figure of a woman with nude bust.

And so the hunter conducted the harlot to the watering place where they arrived after three days. There they sat two days as the cattle and flocks came to drink. (Col. iv.) Enkidu came also and drank. The harlot beheld the savage[15] man. The hunter said:

Col. iv, 8. "This is he; O harlot, undo thy breast,
Open thy bosom, let him take of thy voluptuousness.
Be not ashamed, take of his lust."

And so Enkidu fell to the seductions of the harlot. Six days and seven nights he remained with her. When he returned to his cattle the goats and herds fled from him.

26. "Enkidu was distressed and his body was paralysed.
Still stood his knees as his cattle went away.
Enkidu slackened his running, not as he did formerly.
And he comprehended, extending his knowledge.
30. He returned and sat down at the feet of the harlot,
Looking upon the face of the harlot.
And as the harlot spoke his ears comprehended."

The harlot said to him:

34. "Thou art become beautiful, O Enkidu, like a god thou art.
Why with the flocks wanderest thou on the plain?
Come, I will bring thee into Erech, the sheepfold.[16]
To the holy temple, abode of Anu and Ishtar.
Where is Gilgamish, the perfect in might,
39. And like a wild bull tyrannizes over the people."

Enkidu now longed for a companion and agreed to accompany the harlot to Gilgamish, saying:

Col. iv, 47. "I will summon him, 'The mighty in strength speaks to thee.'
Col. v, 1. I will cry aloud in Erech, 'Mighty am I.'
I will change the things arranged.
He who was born in the plain, mighty is his strength."

The harlot describes Erech where the people clothed themselves in mantles and held festivals. She also describes Gilgamish to Enkidu:

Col. v, 16. "Beautiful in manliness, having vigour.
His whole body is adorned with voluptuous grace.
He has mighty strength more than thee,
Lying down to sleep neither day nor night.
20. O Enkidu, change thy perverse conduct.
Shamash loves Gilgamish.
Anu, Enlil, and Ea have enlarged his understanding.
Before thou camest from the mountain,
Gilgamish in Erech sees visions of thee in dreams.

25. Gilgamish rose up to interpret the dreams saying to his mother:
'My mother, I saw a dream in my night.
There were stars in Heaven,
He fell upon me like the army of Anu.
I lifted him but he was too strong for me.
30. I pushed him away but could not shake him off.
Erech, the Land, stood about him.

. . . . . .

36. [I loved him] like a woman and fell upon him in embrace.
[I brought him] and cast him at thy feet.
And thou hast made him to rival with me.'"

This dream of Gilgamish according to the Assyrian version is told to Enkidu by the harlot. The second tablet of the early Babylonian version begins here and in the first fifteen lines has nearly the same content. Gilgamish's mother was the goddess Ninsun, according to the Assyrian text,[17] and this was also the legend found in Sumerian texts. Ninsun was the wife of Lugalbanda, deified ancient king of Erech, and latterly the kings of Ur claimed themselves to be sons of Ninsun. Ninsun then interprets the dream.

41. "The stars of heaven are thy . . .
[The army] of Anu fell upon thee,
[Him thou didst lift,] and he was too strong for thee,
[Him thou didst push away] and wast not able to shake off,
45. [Whom thou didst bring] and cast at my feet,
Him have I made to rival with thee.
[Thou didst love him like a woman] and fell upon him in embrace.
Col. vi, 1. This is a mighty companion who delivers a friend.
Mighty in the Land is his strength.
Like the army of Anu has his strength been made mighty.
[Thou didst love him like a woman] and fell upon him in embrace.
5. He will . . . thee."

The interpretation of the dream given in the old Babylonian version contains a command that Gilgamish should spare Enkidu and bring him to her.[18] Again Gilgamish dreamed and reported it to his mother.

9. "In Erech, the sheepfold, an 'axe' was laid and they assembled about it.
Erech, the Land, stood about it.
The Land was assembled about it.
The skilled men gathered about it.
I brought it and cast it before thee.
I loved it like a woman and fell upon it in embrace.
15. It hast thou made to rival with me?"

The old version has also this curious reference to an "axe" in the second dream.[19] There it is said that the axe was of strange form, and that Gilgamish put it on his arm, rejoicing to see it. By some obscure simile "axe" is here employed for Enkidu. Ninsun the wise, who knows all things, replied to her son Gilgamish and interpreted the second dream:

18. "The axe which thou hast seen is a man.
Thou shalt love him like a woman, falling upon him in embrace.
I have made him to rival with thee.
This is a mighty companion who delivers a friend.
Mighty in the land is his strength.
23. Like the army of Anu has his strength been made mighty."

The parallel interpretation in the old version is lost. Gilgamish's reply on hearing the interpretation of his two dreams has not been preserved. It is clear from both versions that the long account of the dreams was told to Enkidu by the harlot.

(Tablet II, Col. i.) The narrative is now continued on the old version which preserves the contents of Tablet II, Col. i, of the Assyrian edition. Enkidu sits before the harlot forgetful of his past life. Again he cohabited with her six days and seven nights. Again she praised his godlike appearance and urged him to leave his flocks and go to Erech. Her words pleased him.

Tab. II, ii, 17. "She tore off a garment and clothed him with it.
Old Ver. With a second garment she clothed herself.
She clasped his hand, guiding him like a . . .
33. To the home (?) of the shepherd."

In a short lacuna apparently the harlot introduced him to the customs of civilized life. Milk of the cattle he drank; they placed food before him, but he was only perplexed and understood not. Enkidu had not learned to eat human food and the harlot said to him:

Tab. II, iii, 12. Old Ver. "Eat bread, O Enkidu, it is the conformity of life. Drink beer, it is the custom of the land."

Enkidu ate and drank even seven pots of beer and became merry. He anointed his body and became like a man. "He put on clothing, being like a husband, seized a weapon, and attacked lions which fall upon shepherds by night. Jackals he smote, lions he subdued, and the great shepherds reposed." Enkidu, happy with the harlot, now lifted up his eyes and saw for the first time a man, and cried out:

Tab. II, iv, 5. Old Ver. "O harlot, take away the man, why has he come? His name I will forget."

But the harlot wishing to educate Enkidu called the man and Enkidu looked at him and said:

10. "O man, whither *hastenest* thou? Why is thy going . . . ?"

The man tells him that the custom of the people is to live at home with a family. Gilgamish, king of Erech, lives with his legitimate wife. For, "when his breath (literally nostrils) was created, this was his fate," [Lines 28–9].

When Enkidu heard the name of Gilgamish he turned pale. He and the harlot now (Col. v) enter Erech and the artisans assembled about him, standing in the street of Erech of the carrefours, discussing his appearance:

Tab. II, Old Ver., v, 9. "He is like Gilgamish, but in stature is shorter. In bone he has been made powerful."

Here is narrated an episode which led to a combat between Enkidu and Gilgamish. A couch was laid for the goddess

Išhara, and Gilgamish went in to lie with her. But Enkidu cut off his access to her chamber. All Erech stood about him. He came forth before Gilgamish and they met in the carrefour. Enkidu barred access to the house of Išhara (?) and prevented Gilgamish from entering. They grappled with each other, goring like an ox.

Tab. II, Old Ver., vi, 18. "The threshold they destroyed, the wall trembled.
Gilgamish's foot rested (firmly) on the ground.
His wrath was cooled; he turned back his onslaught.
After he had turned back his onslaught,
Enkidu said unto him, unto Gilgamish,
'As one extraordinary has thy mother borne thee,
She the wild cow of (Erech) the sheepfold, Ninsun.
Thy head has been exalted more than a husband.
33. Royal power over the people has Enlil decreed for thee.'"

Enkidu, fulfilling the mission for which he was created by Aruru at the request of the gods, attacked Gilgamish ostensibly for the possession of the goddess Išhara. This is the only good story of a wrestling match in Semitic mythology. Hebrew mythology [20] has a story of Jacob's wrestling with El, by the stream Jabbok, which seems to be nothing more than an attempt to explain the name Israēl, attributed to Jacob. This name means "El strives (with)," and occurs in early Accadian as Ishri-el, "God strove (with)." [21] Curiously enough this Accadian name occurs on a seal which represents Gilgamish struggling with a bull and Enkidu with a lion. Jacob left alone by night found himself wrestling with a man until day-break, who found that he could not prevail against Jacob, and so smote his thigh that it was disjointed. The man wished to depart at day-break, for it was none other than El. Jacob refused until El

had blessed him. El, or here Elōhim, then demanded to know his name, and was told that it was Jacob. El then said: "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israēl; for thou hast striven with Elōhim and with men and hast prevailed." Jacob then asked his adversary for his name and received only the reply: "Wherefore dost thou ask for my name?" but El blessed him there. The place was henceforth called Peniēl, "Face of El," for there Jacob had seen El face to face. This

Fig. 78. Gilgamish, Enkidu, and Ishtar. Cylinder of Hammurabi Period

story of Jacob's wrestling with El is referred to by the Prophet Hosea: "In his strength he strove with Elōhim, and he strove with an angel and prevailed, he wept and besought him for favour." [22]

The episode became famous in Sumer and Babylonia and it is shewn on numerous seals. Fig. 78, a seal of the age of Hammurabi, has a good illustration of the combat of Gilgamish and Enkidu, and the miniature figure of a woman stands between them. Gilgamish at the left has seized the right wrist of the bull-man Enkidu; Enkidu has hold of the right wrist of Gilgamish. This seems to reproduce faithfully the text of the epic. They struggled for the possession of a

woman or a goddess. On seals of this kind almost invariably a nude woman stands by watching the contest.[23]

The meeting of Gilgamish and Enkidu resulted in their becoming fast friends, but at this point both versions are sadly destroyed. Tablet III of the old version began with Gilgamish's reply to Enkidu after the latter had acknowledged his supremacy at the end of Tablet II and at the top of Col. iii of the second Tablet in the Assyrian edition. Gilgamish asked him why he desired to do this thing. For some reason Gilgamish again describes to his mother Ninsun the powerful physique of his newly found friend.

Tab. II, Col. iii, 43. "In the land mighty is his strength,
Like the army of Anu has his strength been made powerful."

There was none like him and Gilgamish asked his mother to "provide him with . . . ," for a wailer was he. The lost section of the narrative may have described how Enkidu had forsaken the harlot and how he lamented his licentious conduct. Ninsun's reply is almost entirely missing. "My son . . . bitterly he weeps," said she. (Col. iv.) In woe they stood (looking at Enkidu), and saying: "Enkidu has (no rival?), his hair is dishevelled, and he lies . . . In the plain was he born and none . . ." Enkidu, standing by, heard their words and was sad. His eyes filled with tears, his arms were limp, and his strength failed. Gilgamish wondered at his misery and asked him why he wept.

Tab. III, Old Ver., 84. "Enkidu opened his mouth, speaking to Gilgamish.
The female companions, my friend, have slackened my sinews.
My arms have become limp, my strength is exhausted."

Here begins the series of adventures of Gilgamish and Enkidu. Gilgamish proposes to slay the monster Humbaba in the cedar forests. The name is written Huwawa in the old ver-

sion and in the Hittite version. The prophecy of the gods is fulfilled. Enkidu's coming has diverted the attention of the tyrant Gilgamish to far away ventures and Erech had peace. The narrative now depends entirely on the text of the old Accadian edition.[24] After Gilgamish had proposed his plan to attack Humbaba, Enkidu replied:

"I knew, O my friend, in the mountain, when I wandered with the cattle,
That the forest stretched far away to a distance of ten thousand double hour marches.
Who is there that will descend therein?
The roar of Humbaba is a hurricane, his mouth is fire, his breath is death.
Why hast thou desired to do this thing,
A battle without precedent, the conquest of Humbaba? "

But Gilgamish persisted and Enkidu again warned him of the difficult journey and of Humbaba who sleeplessly guarded the cedar forest. (Col. v.) For Enlil had decreed for him sevenfold terror to keep safely the forest. He hears at a distance of ten thousand double hour marches in the cedar mountain and whosoever goes down to his forest is seized by disease. Gilgamish replied:

"Who, my friend is so superior that . . . he has ascended and dwells with Shamash forever?
The days of man are numbered, and whatsoever they do is wind.
Now thou fearest death, vanished is the might of thy valour.
I will go before thee, perchance let him shout to me and thou fearest to approach.
If I fall I shall establish my fame.
'Gilgamish fell by Humbaba the powerful,' it shall be said."

He then gave orders to the craftsmen to make weapons. Axes weighing three talents each they moulded, and swords whose blades weighed two talents, and the edges of their sides weighed thirty *mana* each. Gilgamish then boasts of his venture:

"I Gilgamish will see him of whom they speak.
Him by whose name the lands are filled,

Will I conquer in the cedar forest.
'How is the offspring of Erech mighty,'
Shall I cause the Land to hear.
I will set my hand thereto and cut down the cedars.
I will make for myself an everlasting name."

The elders of the city attempted to dissuade him, and describe Humbaba in the same way as Enkidu had done. As he still persisted in his adventure they advised him to seek the aid of Shamash, the Sun-god.

215. "Gilgamish kneeling (before Shamash) spoke these words:
'I come, O Shamash. I (grasp) thy hands.
Henceforth shall I save my soul,
Bring me back to the quay wall of Erech.'"

He now puts on his armour, bow and quiver, sword, and hatchet and they take the road. (Assyrian Ver. Tablet III, Col. i.) The Elders give him advice:

2. "Trust not, O Gilgamish, to thy might.
May thy . . . conquer (?), make sure thy blow.
He that goes before will deliver a companion,
He that knows the route has protected a friend.
6. Enkidu will go before thee.
He knows the way of the cedar forest.
In battle he is proficient, in conflict experienced.
Enkidu will protect a friend and save a companion,
10. And will carry his body over the ditches.
In our assembly, O king, we have shewn thee respect,
12. And in turn shalt thou shew us respect, O king."

In the old version the advice given to Gilgamish by the elders[25] is much longer. Shamash will cause him to attain his desire and open the closed way for him, and give him victory, and the god Lugalbanda will stand by him in his victory. He shall wash his feet in the river of Humbaba, pour out cold water to Shamash, and in his libation forget not Lugalbanda. And Enkidu, now enthusiastic for the venture, encouraged him to fear not. And so they began the journey to the cedar forest of Humbaba.

In the Assyrian version Enkidu's address of encouragement

is omitted; after the speech of the elders Gilgamish and Enkidu go to Egalmah, temple of Ninsun, clasping each other by the hand. Gilgamish entered before Ninsun and said:

23. "O Ninsun, I have said (that I go)
On a far journey to the place of Humbaba.
A battle, which I know not, will I meet,
A route, which I know not, will I traverse,
27. Until the days when I go and return,
Until I arrive at the cedar forest,
Until I slay Humbaba the ferocious,
30. And destroy whatsoever evil Shamash hateth in the land."

Ninsun heard the words of Gilgamish her son. (Col. ii.) She attired herself in her regal garments, ascended to the roof of her temple, offered incense to Shamash, and said:

10. "Why hast thou put upon my son Gilgamish a restless heart and incited him?
Now thou hast touched him and he goes,
On a far journey to the place of Humbaba,
. . . . . .
18. And destroys whatsoever evil thou hatest in the land."

(Col. iii, iv, v, vi.) Here there is a long lacuna where the narrative is completely lost. Gilgamish has made libation to Shamash and the Sun-god seems to reprove Enkidu for not having done the same. There are references to further sacrifices in Ninsun's temple and finally Gilgamish apparently recites to Enkidu the speech of the elders of the city ending:

Col. vi, 8. "Enkidu will protect a friend and save a companion,
And will carry his body over the ditches.
In our assembly, O king, we have shewn thee respect,
And in turn shalt thou shew us respect, O king."

To this Enkidu replied and apparently promised him faithful service.

(Tablet IV.) At this point the narrative is no longer even approximately continuous on the fragments, and the order of the fragments is uncertain.[26] Following the order assumed by

the writer, after a long lacuna Gilgamish is found describing three dreams which had come to him, and this part of the epic has been recovered in the library of the Hittite capital in Asia Minor.[27] Gilgamish had told Enkidu his first dream; he was glad, his face beamed. Apparently they are now on their journey, and as they rested by night this series of dreams came to Gilgamish. After the first dream was told they took up their journey and again rested by night.

KUB. iv. 12, 6. "A dream, poured out by night, made him shiver.
At midnight his dream was ended.
He related the dream to Enkidu, his friend.
'How! didst thou not summon me? why did I awake?
Enkidu, my friend, I have seen a second dream.
Thou hast summoned me, why am I terrified?
In addition to one dream I have seen a second.
My friend, in my dream the mountain crumbled.
It cast me down, fastening my feet in [the debris].
There was a mighty spectacle in the land. A peculiar man [appeared].
His beauty was beautiful in the land . . .
He drew me out from beneath the mountain range . . .
He gave me water to drink and my heart . . .
And he set my feet on the soil.'
Enkidu said to that god, even to Gilgamish,
'My friend we will go . . .'"

The Assyrian version does not mention the man who saved Gilgamish in his dream, and the Accadian text from Asia Minor has preserved only a few signs of Enkidu's interpretation; it says only that "he will (stand) by thee." But the interpretation of the dream is more intelligible here. The mountain fell on both of them and they were *crushed* like flies. Enkidu interprets the dream to be favourable. Their being trapped by the falling mountain means that they will seize Humbaba, and cast his body on the ground.

Tab. IV, Col. ii, 43. K. 8586. In the morning they heard the command of Shamash. After twenty double hour marches they

broke bread, and after thirty double hour marches they halted for the night. Before Shamash they dug a well. Gilgamish went up on a (mountain) and poured out his offering of fine meal (to Shamash), saying:

"O mountain, bring a dream . . .
Make for him . . ."

A cold wind blew and caused Gilgamish to sleep.

Tab. IV, Col. iii, 7. "Sleep that is poured on men fell upon him.
Sm. 1040. At midnight he ended his sleep.
He rose saying to his friend:
10. 'My friend, didst thou not call me? Why have I awakened?
Didst thou not touch me? Why am I terrified?
Has a god not passed by? Why is my flesh agitated?
My friend, I have seen a third dream.
And the dream which I saw is altogether terrible.
15. The Heavens cried out, the Earth rumbled.
The *day* lapsed into silence, darkness came up.
Lightning flashed, fire flamed.
. . . it rained death.
Light . . . , and fire was extinguished.
20. The . . . which fell turned to ashes.'"

Enkidu interpreted this third dream, but here the narrative is again lost and the prophecy derived from it has not been found on the existing fragments. (Col. v.) After a long lacuna [28] the text speaks of the arrival at the forest. Humbaba wears seven cloaks. He was like a furious wild bull and he called the guard of the forest. Here again the text has a lacuna, and when the narrative can be resumed (Col. vi) Enkidu complains of weariness and does not wish to enter the forest, and Gilgamish replies:

K. 8591. 30. "O my friend, knower of conflict, who . . . battle,
. . . thou didst overthrow having no fear of . . .
Thou didst . . . with me lions and . . .
Like a kettledrum verily was . . . the . . .

May the weakness of thy arms vanish, and the feebleness of thy hands depart.
35. Stand . . . , O my friend, together we will go down.
Let thy heart . . . for conflict, forget death and fear not."

And so they two came to the cedar forest (Tablet V, Col. i), and stood gazing at its height, looking at the entrance to it "where Humbaba wanders about setting his footsteps." The roads were straight and the way good. The cedar mountain was the abode of gods and the sanctuary of the goddess Irnini. The cedar mountain is probably the Lebanons, the gods and goddess of this region were Adad, Shamash, and Astarte. The cedars held high their luxurious beauty on the face of the mountain, "good was its shade full of pleasure." Gilgamish spoke to Enkidu,[29] but his speech occurs in a lacuna, and Enkidu's reply contains references to a door and when the narrative can again be followed he is speaking to this door as to a person:

K. 3588. 38. "O door of the forest, thou deaf one,
With whom there is no understanding,
40. At a distance of twenty double hour marches I have admired thy (beautiful) wood.
While I saw the tall cedar . . .
Not did thy wood have a strange (*appearance*).
Seventy cubits thy height, twenty-four cubits thy breadth . . .
Thy threshold, thy post foot and thy post . . .
45. Thy . . . thy . . . in Nippur . . .
Had I known, O door, how is this thy . . .
And this thy beauty,
Lo I had lifted an axe, lo I had . . .
49. A baldachin surely I had erected . . ."

(Tab. V, Col. ii.) At this point the narrative is interrupted by a break in the sources of nearly two hundred lines save for a few almost unintelligible fragments, and then another lacuna (Col. iv), when Gilgamish (?) is speaking to Enkidu (?) of a dream which he had (K. 3588, Col. vi.). Enkidu lies ill in his bed and his condition is described during a period of twelve days when Gilgamish cries out: "My friend, he has cursed me," "I

feared the battle," and the narrative of this episode ends by referring to the head of Humbaba which they had (cut off). Fortunately this battle with Humbaba, so deficiently preserved on the Assyrian tablets, has been partly recovered in the Hittite translation.[30] These fragments begin by describing how Gilgamish, or Gishgimmash, as the Hittites pronounced the name, was cutting down the cedars, and Humbaba in rage cried out: "Who has come and cut down the cedars which are *held precious* in my mountains?" Now the Sun-god, Shamash, comes to the aid of Gilgamish and Enkidu, as the elders of Erech had told them.[31] He encouraged them to fear not and they advanced to meet Humbaba. Apparently the attack resulted in disaster, and Gilgamish is found weeping before Shamash. The Sun-god heard his prayer and mighty winds arose against Humbaba. The north wind, the south wind, the snow-storm, the cyclone, the wind of the wicked god, altogether eight winds, smote Humbaba in the eyes, so that he could not move forward or backward.

Humbaba submitted and implored Gilgamish for mercy. "Let me go, Gilgamish, thou shalt be my lord, and I will be thy servant." He promised to deliver to him the much prized cedars and (*build*) houses for him. But Enkidu protested and told him not to spare Humbaba.

The Humbaba episode, which occupies half of book three and all of books four and five in the Assyrian edition, forms, therefore, one of the principal parts of the epic. It certainly entered into the scheme of the original Sumerian source. This monster of the cedar forests is invariably called a god in the texts and the original name was clearly Huwawa. There is no mythological or philological connection between Huwawa and the Combabus of the Syrian legend of Stratonice.[32] Humbaba became a demon in later mythology and prayers refer to him as a powerful being who takes charge of demons at the command of Tammuz. A man tormented by a devil prays to Tammuz:

> " The evil spy, supporter of evil, who is bound in me,
> Unto the mighty god Humbaba, the merciless demon,
> Confide."

A variant of this passage reads " god Hum-ba," and another has " Hubaba the wicked demon," where he is not called a god.[33] He seems to have been a monster whose name was derived from the name of an animal. Prognostications made from examining the entrails of an animal say that the entrails may resemble the eye of Humbaba, for which another scribe wrote " god Humhum "; a terra-cotta mask (Fig. 79) shews the Babylonian conception of his terrible face, the beard being represented by entrails. It is inscribed with a similar omen: " If the entrails be like the head of Huwawa, it is the omen of Sargon who ruled the world."[34]

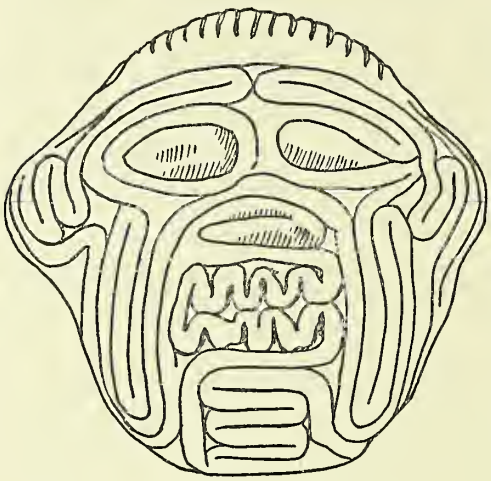

Fig. 79. Terra-cotta Mask of Humbaba

This proves that the custom of comparing entrails with the face of Huwawa, or Humbaba, was already known in the period of Sargon of Accad in the twenty-eighth century B.C., and that the monster was not then classified as a deity. Other omens derived from the strange appearances of monstrosities born of women are compared with eyes of Huwawa, or the visage of Huwawa.[35] The face of this monster as he appears on Fig. 79, and on another similar mask,[36] is designed by a single winding line, except eyes. This design was adopted because the early artists had represented him with tortuous grinning features and a curly head suggestive of entrails. The connection with entrails having been introduced into omen literature led to an over

emphasis of this aspect. Figure 80 probably represents the real Humbaba of Sumerian and Babylonian mythology. A great number of these masks shewing the head in the same style as Fig. 80 have been found, all having projecting ears pierced by a small hole, and clearly intended to be attached to a wall or part of the house as a protection against the demons. Some of these masks wear a merry grin, and illustrate the ancient principle of fighting the demons by presenting to them a caricature of themselves.

Fig. 80. Terra-cotta Bas-relief of Humbaba

There is an Elamitic god called Humba, described as the Enlil or Earth-god of Susa, and this deity is a variant of Hubaba in the texts. This seems to be mere homophonic confusion, but the view that the two are identical and that the cedar forest of Humbaba was in Elam has been generally held by scholars before the original name Huwawa was discovered. Moreover in cuneiform inscriptions the "cedar forest" always refers to the Lebanons. If a king of an early Sumerian dynasty became the subject of a legend in which he subdued a monster who ruled the cedar-clad mountains of Syria, and who offered cedars of his realm to propitiate his conqueror, it must be due to some unknown historical expedition in very remote times.

(Tablet VI.) The return journey of Gilgamish and Enkidu to Erech after their victory over Humbaba is not described in the epic. The poet passes at once to the famous story of Ishtar's unrequited love for the hero of the legend. Gilgamish once again in Erech washed his hair, cleaned his garments, and let his hair fall over his body. Ishtar beheld his beauty and loved him, and offered to make him her husband. Kings and princes would kneel before him.

17. " . . . mountain and land shall bear thee tribute.
Thy she goats shall bear prolifically, thy ewes shall bear twins.
Thy colt shall come with the burden of a mule.
Thy horse shall be strong in running with the chariot.
And may (thy ox) have no equal under the yoke."

But Gilgamish rejected her gifts and her proposal. The treacherous love of Ishtar as told in this book of the epic has already been described in a previous chapter.[37] Every one who had loved her had fallen on sorrow. Tammuz, the *allallu* bird, the lion, the horse, a shepherd, Ishullanu the gardener, all had been loved by her and shamefully treated.

" And me thou lovest and me even as them thou wouldst [treat]."

On hearing Gilgamish's reply, Ishtar appealed to Anu, her father, to create " the bull of Heaven " to destroy Gilgamish. The account of Anu's creation of the Gudanna, or bull of Heaven, is lost in a lacuna. The text refers to his descending (from Heaven), and his terrible breath destroyed two hundred men at each snort. The third time he snorted against Enkidu,[38] but he seized him by the horns and the thick of his tail. Together they slew the bull and placed the carcass before Shamash, they went far off, prostrated themselves before this god, and sat down " they the two brothers."

From the wall of Erech Ishtar cried aloud and cursed Gilgamish. Enkidu hearing this tore off the bull's right leg and threw it in her face, saying that he would do to her as he had done to the bull. Ishtar assembled her whores and prostitutes,

and instituted wailing over the right leg of the bull. Gilgamish gave the bull's horn to his god Lugalbanda to serve as an ointment vase. The two friends washed their hands in the Euphrates and went riding in the streets of Erech. The inhabitants assembled to see them and said:

182. "Who among strong men is illustrious?
Who among manly ones is glorious?
Gilgamish among strong men is illustrious.
Gilgamish among manly ones is glorious."

Then he instituted a feast in his palace; men lay down to sleep; Enkidu slept and had a dream, arose, and disclosed it to his friend, and said:

"My friend, why have the great gods taken counsel together?"

(Tablet VII.) So began the seventh book of the epic, and here the Assyrian sources have a long lacuna of one hundred lines. This part of the narrative has been found in the Hittite version.[39] Enkidu said that he saw Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Shamash (in counsel). Anu said to Enlil:

"'Since they have slain the bull of Heaven, and the god Huwawa
They slew, so shall he who devastated the mountains of the cedars,'
Said Anu, 'among these (two) [die].'
But Enlil said, 'Enkidu shall die,
But Gilgamish shall not die.'"

Now Shamash, god of the Heavens, opposed Enlil and said:

"Did they not slay at thy command
The bull of Heaven and the god Huwawa?
Now shall the innocent Enkidu die?"

This speech is contrary to the statement in the third Tablet which stated distinctly that Humbaba was slain at the order of Shamash himself. The Hittite version says that Enlil angrily replied to Shamash and explained that he was moved to condemn Enkidu because he, Shamash, had daily accompanied the two heroes as a companion. All this Enkidu saw in his dream.

And so Enkidu lay before Gilgamish in distress; Gilgamish wept because the gods had declared him innocent and his brother Enkidu guilty, saying:

" Now I will sit me down by the ghosts, at the *door* of the ghosts and see my beloved brother no more with (my) eyes."

The death of Enkidu does not occur until after another episode, the nature of which remains obscure because the lacuna, in the first part of book seven, which led up to the cursing of the harlot, has never been completed. (Col. iii.) But for some reason Enkidu seems to have attributed his fate to her. He probably argued that if she had not seduced him to leave his savage but peaceful life on the plains, he had never known Gilgamish and had never undertaken the heroic labours which ended in his condemnation to die. The narrative now contains an account of how he cursed the harlot who had brought him to Erech. " I will curse thee with a great curse," said he. The contents of this long and terrible curse can be surmised from the few direful phrases preserved. " The shadow of the wall be thy place," " The drunkard and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek," " The highway shall be her abode, and she shall be the ridicule of maidens."

" Because thou hast . . . me,
And me . . . thou hast . . . in my field."

Shamash heard the words of his mouth and straightway called to him from Heaven:

" Why, O Enkidu hast thou cursed the hierodule, the harlot?
Who caused to eat bread fit for divinity,
Who gave to drink wine fit for kingliness,
Who clothed thee in a great garment,
And caused thee to have the pious Gilgamish as a companion.
Now Gilgamish thy friend, thy elder brother,
Caused thee to sleep on a great bed.
In a bed of fine workmanship he caused thee to sleep.
He caused thee to sit in a peaceful seat, a seat at (his) left hand,
Making the kings of the earth kiss thy feet,

Causing the people of Erech to weep for thee, causing them to wail for thee,
Placing at thy disposal the service of thriving peoples.
And he brought sores upon his body behind thee,
Clothing himself in a lion's skin, and coursing the plain."

Enkidu's wrath was appeased by the argument of Shamash, and there follows, in a defectively preserved text, a complete reversal of Enkidu's disposition toward the harlot. (Col. iv.) Now he blesses her and declares that kings and princes shall love her, and she shall have an amorous husband.

Now Enkidu was miserable in mind, lay down to sleep alone, saw another dream and reported it to his friend.

"The Heavens cried out, the earth shook.[40]
. . . as I stood.
There was a . . . whose face was darkened.
Like a . . . was his face.
His . . . , claw of an eagle was his claw."

The strange being seen by Enkidu in his dream led him to a house of darkness, the abode of the goddess Irkalla or Allat, goddess of the lower world, to the house whose inhabitants are deprived of light, where their nourishment is dust and their bread clay.

"They are clad in a garment with wings like birds
And they see not the light, sitting in darkness.
At the house of dust which I entered
I looked and crowns lay there.
They of crowns sat there, they that ruled the land since former times.
Before Anu and Enlil they were setting forth roast meat.
Cooked food they were setting forth, and giving them to drink cool water, waters of drinking pouches.
High priests and psalmists sat there.
The priests of the water cult and the high pontiffs sat there.
Etana sat there, the god Gira sat there.
Ereshkigal, queen of the lower world, sat there,
Bêlit-ṣêri, scribe of the lower world, kneeled before her.

She . . . reading before her.
She lifted up her head and saw me, (saying)
54. '. . . has seized this man.'"

(Cols. v, vi.) Most unfortunately Enkidu's vision of Arallû and his experiences there cannot be followed; for the fragments completely fail from this point; the whole of the interpretation is also lost in a lacuna of one hundred lines. Here was told the tale of how his dreams were fulfilled, and he died.

(Tablet VIII.) The eighth book described the wailing of Gilgamish for his friend. It began at sunrise, when he wept for his friend, addressing him as though he were still alive, first recalling his early nomad life among the cattle and then their exploits against Humbaba in the cedar forest and the slaying of the bull of Heaven in Erech. He now asks the elders of Erech to hear him.

Col. ii, 2. "I weep for Enkidu my friend,
Like a woman wailer I lament woefully.
He, the axe of my side, the . . . of my arm,
The sword of my girdle, the . . . of my face,
The raiment of my feasts, the . . . of my pleasure.
7. . . . has gone forth and *left* me."

Here begins a lamentation which recurs three times in the tenth book: [41]

8. "My friend, my adopted brother, chaser of asses of the mountain, panther of the plain,
Enkidu, my friend, my adopted brother, panther of the plain,
We who travelled everywhere and ascended the mountain,
We who seized the bull of Heaven and slaughtered him,
12. We who cast down Humbaba that dwelt in the cedar forest,
Now what dream is it that has taken possession of thee?
Thou hast turned dark and hearest me not."

But Enkidu lifted not his head; Gilgamish touched his heart but it beat not. And so he knew that his friend was dead, and

he covered him like a bride. "He *roared* (?) like a lion, and like a lioness which had been *robbed* (?) of her whelps he . . ." There seems to be a reference to shearing his hair and tearing his clothes in sign of lamentation. Here the narrative is interrupted by a long lacuna, and when the text is resumed, he is recalling the kind deeds he had done for his dead friend.

Col. iii. "I caused thee to sleep on a great bed,
In a bed of fine workmanship I caused thee to sleep,"

and repeating the lines addressed to Enkidu by Shamash in the seventh book. (See p. 258 ll. 41 ff.) The passage ends:

"I clothed myself in a lion's skin, coursing the plain." [42]

Each period of his wailing began at sunrise, and in the next section there is a reference to his removing cult objects which had been used in his lament at sunrise on the day before, when the rehearsal of his kindness to Enkidu occurred. If a new fragment can be placed here,[43] the lamentations continued at sunrise the next day with a ritual in which Euphrates water (?) (Col. iv), lapis lazuli, and cornelian are mentioned. The ceremony also mentions alabaster, Enkidu's clothing, and various quantities of gold, and this day's lament also ends with an address to his dead friend in which he mentions "thy sword," and an offering to the god Bibbu, that is the planet Mercury. After a long lacuna the texts (Col. v) preserve the address of some deity, probably Shamash, to Gilgamish, and when he heard his instructions, Gilgamish "conceived the image of a *nâru*." In the preceding instructions he had either been told to make a *nâru*, or Shamash had described to him how Enkidu had crossed the *nâru* or river of death. There is uncertainty about the ritual here. The word *nâru* also means "a singer." It is improbable that Gilgamish had the supreme power of gods to create a living creature, and the passage may mean that Gilgamish pictured to himself the legendary Hubur river which his friend had crossed.

At sunrise of the next morning he again continued his lamentations and prepared a great table, filled a cornelian bowl with honey, and a lapis lazuli bowl with cream. Here the text of the eighth book ends, and the long lacuna which described the ritual and lament has not yet been filled in. The eighth book contained lamentations for six days, and when the text is restored it will provide complete information concerning Babylonian funeral services.

Books nine, ten, and eleven describe the wanderings of Gilgamish in quest of the plant of "never grow old," in the land of Utnapishtim, where he also hears the story of the Flood. These episodes have been told in the preceding Chapter.[44]

Tablet IX, Col. i, 1. "Gilgamish for Enkidu, his friend,
Weeps woefully, coursing the plain.
'Shall I not die even as Enkidu?
Sorrow has entered into my heart.
5. I have feared death, and so I course the plain.
Unto the presence of Utnapishtim, son of Ubartutu,
I have started on the way, and quickly will I go.
I will come to the mountain passes by night.
If I see lions and be frightened,
10. I should lift up my head praying to the Moon-god.
Unto the goddess, . . . the . . . of the gods, shall my implorations come.
12. O . . . save me, even me.'"

He had a terrifying dream in which he saw certain ones, "who rejoice to live." He dreamed that he lifted an axe to his side and drew a sword from his girdle. Like a javelin it fell among them, he smote and scattered them. As the narrative is unfolded it was seen that "those who rejoice to live" are the attendants of the boatman who plied between the sea-border of the world and the land of the immortal Utnapishtim. The narrative is interrupted here by a long break and is again resumed when he arrived at Mount Mâshu, and with the episode of the scorpion-men.[45]

The story of the Flood ended with Gilgamish and the boatman Ursanapi at Erech, where they were occupied in restoring the walls of the city. Book twelve begins with an entirely new situation and was probably added by the scribes; it has no relation to the main theme of the epic; Gilgamish's futile quest for the plant of life had been told and he had returned to Erech. The poets now add a mythological poem on the conditions in which the souls of the dead exist in Arallû. The poem begins:

1. "Once on a time a net in the house of the carpenter verily was . . .
A trap [in the house of the carpenter verily was . . .]."

These obscure lines are not entirely elucidated by the later references in the poem where Gilgamish complains that the net and the trap had smitten him. There is some still unexplained allusion here to the "net and trap" fashioned by the gods, a poetical description of the fate of man. The gods have all men in the toils of fate. It is possible that the house of the carpenter refers to the god Enki, patron of all artisans, and that the "carpenter god" had been ordered to fashion the "net" for each man, which finally brings him to the end of his career. The poet then says:

3. "O my lord, why [was . . . ?],
The net [in the house of the carpenter . . . ?]
The trap [in the house of the carpenter . . . ?]."

These lines are a reflection on life, and the poet now passes to the concrete example of how Gilgamish himself failed to escape from the net of the gods. This may, in fact, be part of the group of wise sayings attributed to Utnapishtim; "my lord" refers to Gilgamish. The poet now addresses Gilgamish and says, "Gilgamish [thou who . . .], if [thou wishest to . . .]," and again, "Gilgamish [thou who . . .], if [thou wishest to . . .], to the sanctuary of . . ." This is generally taken to mean that Gilgamish wishes to descend to the lower world to discover his friend Enkidu, and to see the abode of the dead.

The instructions of Utnapishtim were that to do this he must not clothe himself in clean garments, or, as though he were a fugitive, they would know him, alas!

16. " Thou shalt not anoint thyself with good oil of the stone bowl,
For they (the souls of the dead) will assemble about thee to smell it.
Thou shalt not plant the bow on the ground,[46]
For they who were smitten by the bow will surround thee.
20. Thou shalt not lift a cudgel in thy hand,
For the ghosts will curse thee.
Sandals on thy feet shalt thou not put.
Thou shalt not make a noise in the underworld.
Thy wife, whom thou lovest, shalt thou not kiss,
25. Thy wife, whom thou hatest, shalt thou not smite,
28. For the misery of the underworld will seize thee."

He is told that in the land of the dead sleeps the Mother-goddess Ninazu, and " her two clean flanks are not covered by a garment, her breast like the bowl of an ointment jar is not . . ." She holds the dead in bondage.

But he clothed himself in a clean garment, and as though he were a fugitive they knew him, alas! He anointed himself, and they assembled about him. He planted his bow on the ground, and they who had died by the bow surrounded him. He lifted a cudgel in his hand and the ghosts cursed him. He put on sandals and made a noise in the underworld. He kissed the wife he loved and smote the one he hated, he kissed the son he loved and smote the one he hated, and the misery of the underworld seized him. The Mother-goddess Ninazu, or Ereshkigal, queen of Arallû, slept there, with her flanks uncovered and her breast . . . like the bowl of an ointment jar.

Thus Gilgamish in defiance of the laws of Arallû, where all must appear naked and be silent, had descended among the dead to discover Enkidu.

50. " Then, that Enkidu should ascend from the lower world,
Namtaru restrained not, the *asakku* demon restrained not, it was the lower world that restrained him.

The spy of Nergal, the merciless, did not restrain him, it was the lower world that restrained him.
Not the place of battle of men had smitten (him), it was the lower world which had smitten him."

These words are a soliloquy of Gilgamish, or perhaps a quotation from the wisdom of Utnapishtim. The poet continues:

54. "Then my lord, son of Ninsun, was weeping for his servant Enkidu.
To Ekur, house of Enlil, alone he went, (saying):
'Father Enlil, once on a time a net smote me to earth,
A trap smote me to earth.
Enkidu, whom to bring up from the lower world,
Namtar has not restrained, the *asakku* demon has not restrained, the lower world has restrained.
60. The spy of Nergal, the merciless, has not restrained, the lower world has restrained.
Not the place of battle of men has smitten him, the lower world smote him.'"

But Enlil answered him not and he appealed to Sin, the Moon-god, in the same words, and again received no reply. He then appealed to the god Ea, always the friend of men in distress. Ea came to his aid and ordered Nergal, god of the lower world, to open a hole in the earth that the soul of Enkidu might ascend. And so he ascended like a wind. The friends embraced each other, and Gilgamish said:

87. "Tell me, O my friend, tell me, O my friend,
Tell me the law of the lower world, which thou hast seen."

To which Enkidu replied:

89. "Not shall I tell thee, my friend, not shall I tell thee.
If I tell thee the law of the lower world which I have seen,
Sit thee down, weep."

Here the description of Arallû is not well preserved. Enkidu mentions the worm that eats, the dust that fills, and those that sit. The poem ends with the following dialogue between Enkidu and Gilgamish.

144. "He who by a ship's hawser was smitten [47] didst thou see? Yea I saw;
Verily upon . . . *he lies* and in pulling out plugs he . . .
He who died the death of . . . didst thou see? Yea I saw;
He sleeps on a bed by night and drinks cool water.
He who was slain in battle didst thou see? Yea I saw;
His father and his mother lifted up his head and his wife upon him . . .
150. Him, whose corpse was cast on the plain, didst thou see? Yea I saw;
His ghost rests not in the lower world.
Him, whose ghost has none to remember him, didst thou see? Yea I saw.
Leavings of the pot, crumb of bread thrown in the street he eats."

So ends the Epic of Gilgamish in the Assyrian version. The last lines prove that the doctrine of rewards and punishments in the after life had now arisen among the Babylonians and Assyrians. It is improbable that the legendary and philosophical poem which now forms the twelfth book, was attached to the old Babylonian version of the twentieth century B.C. The poem cannot be later than the seventh century and is probably older.

Although this epic was obviously well known throughout the West Semitic lands, and in Asia Minor among the Hittites, it seems to have had no influence upon the mythologies of other races. Attempts have been made to shew influence of the Gilgamish Epic upon the Odyssey of the early Greek poet Homer, but without convincing success. Emphasis has been laid upon a connection between the Gilgamish and Siduri episode and the somewhat similar episode of the nymph Calypso and Odysseus on the island Ogygia.[48] An exhaustive study of possible traces of the influence of this epic upon Hebrew mythology and upon the principal characters of early Christianity as they appear in the New Testament, Jesus and St. Paul, has not convinced scholars, largely owing to the fact that

the attempt assumes real history to be legend. An example of this kind of reasoning is the following. The Israelites, led by Jacob, went to Egypt from Canaan, where his son Joseph became their leader and where Jacob died. Then the Egyptians under a new Pharaoh oppressed the Israelites and made them build treasure cities for the Egyptians. This is said to be derived from the first book of the Epic of Gilgamish; the citizens of Erech were sorely oppressed by Gilgamish, who compelled them to build the walls of Erech, and repair the temple of the Heaven-god Anu, which is called a "store house" in the epic.

Pharaoh had a dream in which he saw seven fat kine feeding in the pasture. And there came up seven lean kine which devoured the seven fat kine. This was interpreted by Joseph to mean that Egypt would have seven years of great prosperity followed by seven years of famine. Joseph, therefore, advised the Pharaoh to appoint officers to lay up corn during the seven years of plenty against the years of famine. In the sixth book of the Epic of Gilgamish Ishtar implored her father Anu to create the bull of Heaven to destroy Gilgamish against whom she was enraged. In a broken passage there is a reference to seven years of famine, which Anu prophesies, if he creates the bull, and he commands Ishtar to gather provisions for men and cattle. This Ishtar did. The seven lean kine of the Hebrew story are made to correspond with the bull of the Gilgamish Epic. By this line of argument traces of the epic have been found in many other mythologies and the reader must be referred to the two large volumes devoted to this theory.[49]

The theory which connects the various episodes with the passage of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac may be taken more seriously, but here again all attempts to explain this complicated myth on astral principles have failed. The hunter who appears in book one has been identified with Betel-

geux in Orion, and Humbaba with Procyon in Canis Minor. Gilgamish was the national hero of the Sumerians and Babylonians, and the Epic of Gilgamish was their national epic. Shamash, the Sun-god, appears in several episodes as the friend and patron of Gilgamish, and Humbaba, whom Shamash hated, was slain by Gilgamish. There is no reason to suppose that Gilgamish was regarded as a " redeemer " of men; on the contrary it was through his stupidity that the plant of rejuvenation was not recovered and given to mankind. If Shamash hated the wicked Humbaba, that is probably because this monster of the Syrian cedar-clad mountains was originally an historical person, and the foe of the early Sumerian kingdom. Nor is there any obvious reason for identifying Gilgamish with the two stars of Gemini, Castor and Pollux, nor the scorpion-man, whom Gilgamish met on the shore of the western sea, with the constellation Scorpio. The order of events, the religious and ethical theories put upon them by the author or authors of this epic, are now fairly clear, and they do not disclose any astral or solar order. So far as can be determined, the old Babylonian version did not have twelve books, and in the Assyrian edition the twelfth book is clearly a late addition. There is, therefore, no attempt to base the narrative upon the year of twelve months, nor can any astral connection be discovered in any of the twelve books to confirm this, even if the books be assigned to the months of the solar year, beginning with Nisan (March) and ending with Adar (February), and placing the origin of the epic in the period when the sun at the spring equinox stood in Taurus. On this assumption the sun stood in Gemini during the second month, and in the second book Gilgamish met his friend Enkidu. But on this assumption Gilgamish's meeting with the scorpion-man should have been told in the seventh book; for in the seventh month the sun stood in Scorpio. The episode of the scorpion-man occurs in the ninth book. However suggestive these theories

may be, they must be considered on their merits and they obviously have nothing to recommend them. The epic was based upon historical circumstances, developed under the glamour of legend into a great national poem which served as medium for teaching some of the most important doctrines of the Sumero-Babylonian religion.

CHAPTER VIII

LEGENDS OF THE DESTRUCTION OF MEN OR THE POEM OF EA AND ATARHASIS

IN the Chapter on the Flood story references to other world catastrophes were found and an Accadian poem in at least three books or tablets was devoted to a series of such calamities.[1] The texts of this long epical composition are so badly preserved that only a general idea of their contents can be obtained from them. In each catastrophe a person called *Atarḫasis-amēlu*, "The man Atarhasis," is mentioned. This name means "He who knows exceedingly much" and as a title is used of Adapa, Utnapishtim, and of gods. In this poem the title is used as a proper name and, if the same person is intended in each case, it would mean that the same man survived each world catastrophe, a conclusion obviously impossible. In each episode it was he who appealed to the god Ea to allay the wrath of the gods. The name is, therefore, only a title and the text affords no information concerning the actual name of the hero of each episode. There are apparently five destructions of the world, the last one being the Flood, and since the Atarhasis of this episode is Ziûsudra or Utnapishtim, the same title in the preceding calamities must refer to respectively four of the legendary kings before the Flood. In their reigns occurred the successive destructions of the world at long intervals.

The entire section at the beginning of the poem is lost. It contained an account of how the Earth-god Enlil became angered against mankind because of their wickedness and prophe-

sied that they would be destroyed by drought and famine. The text then preserves the description of the famine.[2]

Col. i, 1. "When the first year arrived there was . . .
When the second year arrived there were still stores.
When the third year arrived
The people struggled with each other in their cities.
5. When the fourth year arrived, their cities were reduced to straits.
Their wide . . . were reduced.
The people wandered in the streets downcast.
When the fifth year arrived, daughter waited to come in to mother,
But the mother opened not her door to the daughter.
10. Daughter gazed at the scales of mother.
Mother gazed at the scales of daughter.[3]
When the sixth year arrived, they provided a daughter for meat.
They provided an infant for meat; they filled the . . .
One house devoured the other.
15. Like millet were their faces covered.
The people lived in the midst of failing life."

Here there is a long lacuna, at the beginning of which there is a reference to the people sending a message to someone. Here followed an appeal by Atarhasis to Ea, who appeased the wrathful Enlil, and the famine ceased. After a long lapse of time, under another pre-diluvian king (Col. ii), Enlil was again angered by the wickedness of men, and again prophesied and sent a famine, caused by a drought. The drought and famine are described.

3. "On high Adad made scarce his rain.
Beneath (the fountain) was stopped and the flood mounted not from the fountain.
5. The field diminished its grain heaps.
He turned back the breast of Nidaba; the *dark* meadows turned white.
The wide plain bore saltpetre.
Grass sprang not up, grain sprouted not.
Pestilence was prepared for the peoples.
10. The womb (of the ewe) was bound and delivered not the young."

Here followed the same description of six years of famine as in the first episode. Now "the lord of wisdom," Atarhasis, had his "ear open unto Ea his lord," and spoke with his god, but Ea answered him not. The broken text refers to some ceremony in which Atarhasis, to obtain an interview with the Water-god, Ea, did something at the "door of his god," and placed his bed over against the river. The narrative is again lost in a short break. Here stood the account of how Ea allayed the wrath of Enlil (Col. iii) and stayed the destruction of mankind a second time.

The next episode begins with a description of why Enlil decided for a third time to destroy mankind.

"Because of their uproar he was troubled.
Because of their multitude he had no quiet.
He held his convocation (of the gods),
Saying unto the gods, his sons:
'Oppressive has become the uproar of men.
By their uproar I am troubled.
In their multitude they maintain not silence.
Let . . . and there be fever.
Quickly let pestilence still their uproar.
Like a cyclone may there blow upon them
Sickness, ague, fever, and plague.'"

And so there was fever, and quickly pestilence stilled their clamour, diseases blew upon them.

Again Atarhasis had his ear open unto Ea his lord and spoke with his god, and Ea spoke with him. This time he obtained a reply without magical ceremony.

"Atarhasis opened his mouth and spoke,
Saying to Ea, his lord:
'. . . mankind lament,
And your . . . consumes the land.
. . . mankind lament,
And the . . . of the gods consumes the land.
. . . ye have created us.
May sickness, ague, fever, and plague be warded off.'"

Ea replied to Atarhasis, and told men to pray to their goddess, and make sacrifices before her; she would hear their words. This is the end of the third episode. The Assyrian text of the fourth world destruction is now supplemented by the second Tablet of the old version which begins here. Enlil summoned his convocation of the gods his sons. He complains that the sins of men have not diminished, but have become greater than before. He was disturbed by their clamour, and in their multitude they kept not silent.

42. "Let the fig tree be cut off for the people,
And vegetables be few in their stomachs.
On high may Adad make scarce his rain.
45. Beneath let (the fountain) be stopped and the flood not rise in the fountain.
Let the field diminish its grain heaps,
Let him turn back the breast of Nidaba; let the *dark* meadows turn white.
Let the wide field bear saltpetre.
Let her bosom rebel; may grass not spring up, grain not sprout.
50. Let pestilence be prepared for the peoples,
Let the womb (of the ewe) be bound and deliver not the young."

And so drought came as Enlil had predicted. (Col. iv.) Here there is a long lacuna, which contained the same description of six years of famine as that which followed after the first and second catastrophes. In this lacuna the narrative probably contained an account of how Atarhasis again appealed to Ea, but apparently this fourth destruction had made an end of mankind entirely. For when the story is resumed men are created again by the mother goddess Mami. The ancient version, which contains part of this fourth episode, does not add much information. It says that the land had become enlarged and the population had multiplied. "Because of their multitude Enlil ordered their destruction. In addition to a drought he sent a wind to despoil the . . ." Now the goddess Mami is summoned to create men, and after she had uttered an incantation she cast it over

a lump of clay. She placed seven pieces of the clay on her right, seven on her left, and created from them seven males on her right, and seven females on her left; after her own likeness she designed the forms of men.

At this point, interrupting the narrative, the scribe adds directions for a woman in child-birth, which proves that the myth was recited as a prelude to a magic ritual. In the house of a woman, who is in child-birth, a brick shall be placed, which represents the divinity of the queen of the gods, the wise Mami. By this brick, symbol of the clay from which Mami made man, the angered gods will rejoice in the house of the pregnant woman, and where the childbearing woman gives birth, shall the mother nourish the infant herself. The ritual is here broken away, and on the Assyrian version over one hundred and twenty lines, narrating the last of the world disasters, are lost. This was the Flood, as is known by the continuation of the story on the second tablet of the old Babylonian version.

(Col. ii, Old Ver.) Enlil for a fourth time decided to destroy the world, and a part of his prophecy is preserved. On the morrow Adad would send a rain-storm, but the people heeded not and continued to make great uproar. Here a long description of the approaching disaster occupying three columns of the text is lost,[4] and it is impossible to conjecture what all the contents of this great lacuna could possibly be. When the narrative can be taken up again (Col. v) the god Ea is protesting with the gods for commanding the Flood. Part of this lacuna contained Ea's warning to Atarhasis. But his protest against the destruction of mankind by the deluge occurs, in this myth, before the event, and not after it as in the narrative of the eleventh book of the Epic of Gilgamish. Ea protests that the gods Shullat and Lugal, that is Shamash and Marduk, should take part in this mad plot of the gods. (Col. vi.) Here again the connection is lost and the text of the second Tablet ends with Atramhasis[5] speaking to Ea his lord. From an Assyrian fragment, which belongs to the part of the story at the end of this Tablet,

the following lines can be restored.[6] Ea now describes to Atarhasis the terrors of the Flood. He will reveal to him the time of its arrival. He commands him to enter a ship and close the door; to load the ark with food and his possessions; to bring his family and household into the ship, with his skilled men; also the cattle and beasts of the field as many as eat grass, Ea gave him those who would guard the door of the ship. Atarhasis replied that he had never built a ship. A broken passage contains instructions by Ea for building the ship. Here the fragments end and the story of the escape of Atarhasis from the Flood in this poem is lost.

(Tab. III, Old Ver.) The third Tablet of the old Babylonian version, which contained in its first two columns the account of the building of the ark and of the Flood, is preserved in fragmentary condition. The whole of the first two columns is lost; at the middle of the third column begins the account of how Mami again created men from clay. Enki (Ea) commanded the great gods to slay a god that Ninhursag, that is Mami, might mingle the clay with the blood of the slain god and make *lullû* or man "to bear the yoke."

26. "Verily god and man,
Shall . . . in the clay."[7]

Apparently Enki means to say that the Mother-goddess thus created a being in whom existed divine and earthly elements. Thus the Babylonians explained the origin of man's immortal soul, the temporary inhabitant of a body created from the earth. The same legend appears in Greek mythology among the Orphic writers, who, in their account of Zagreus, child of Zeus and Persephone, relate the story that the Titans slew and devoured this divine child. For this they were burned and from their ashes was born man, but his soul sprang from the blood of the slain god.

And so after the Flood man was again created from clay by the Mother-goddess, as she had done after the fourth destruc-

tion of the world. At this point the narrative is broken by a great lacuna in the third tablet; in the last column there are remains of a magic ritual for delivering a woman in child-birth. Again there is a reference to placing a brick, and

19. "The angry gods will rejoice in the house of the woman in pregnancy.
Where the childbearing woman gives birth,
21. The mother will by herself bring forth an infant."

Although this long poem is one of the most deficiently preserved of all the important mythological works of Babylonia and Assyria, it is one of the most interesting and important. Serving as a long narrative of the five catastrophes which visited and destroyed all men in the pre-diluvian period, it was actually recited as a ritual to deliver a child. Thus a man was born, and by relating the legend of how the Mother-goddess had created men again after they had been destroyed, the magicians invoked her aid in bringing into the world a new life and a new soul. The poem bore the title *inuma ilu-awelum*, "When a god-man," from the first words of the first line. This probably refers to the purpose for which the poem was recited and may be restored: "When a god-man is born." Remarkable is the expression "god-man," which at once discloses the belief in the semi-divine nature of mankind. This doctrine finds renewed expression in the same poem after Mami had created *lullû* ("man") from clay and the blood of a god. In a broken passage the scribe apparently said that "God and man were mingled in the clay," when man sprang from clay in the hands of the Mother-goddess.

CHAPTER IX

THE BABYLONIAN EPIC OF CREATION AND SIMILAR SEMITIC MYTHS

SUMERIAN myths concerning the primeval battle between the Sun and War-god Ninurta and the dragon of Chaos, Zû, have been mentioned in the discussions of the Sumerian and Semitic pantheon. But there is no evidence in the extensive Sumerian literature that they had any considered theory of the creation of the world. That all things exist and were created by the Word or Logos of the Water-god Enki was a theory developed by them. But cosmological reflections upon the creation of the universe by the Sun-god, after he had slain the dragon of Chaos, which resulted in a considered myth and an epical masterpiece, are apparently of Accadian origin. The name of the dragon of Chaos, which appears in the great Epic of Creation, is also Semitic and not Sumerian. Moreover the dragon of the epic is a female, whereas in every Sumerian reference to this primeval battle of Bêl and the Dragon the latter is a male monster, and either the storm-bird Zû or the fabulous serpent Mušḫuššû. Both of these dragons are reduced to the *rôle* of cohorts in the host of Tiamat, female dragon of the sea, in the Babylonian myth. Moreover every known representation of the battle of Bêl and the Dragon in Babylonia and Assyria represents the dragon either as a winged lion with scaly body and bird talons, or as a serpent monster (Fig. 57). None of these representations on seals and monuments is earlier than the tenth century B.C., and even the prolific glyptique of the Hammurabi period, when this epic was probably written, shews no trace of the myth. Fig. 81 is a good example of the manner

in which the Assyrians represented Marduk or Ashur in conflict with the lion type of dragon. This seal has an Aramaic inscription. The god rides upon a winged lion which belches flames from its mouth. The lion belching flames and carrying on its back a deity is a common *motif*,[1] and belongs also to Sumerian mythology.

Now it is certain that the Mušḫuššû, subdued by Ninurta in the old Sumerian mythology, was identified with the constellation Hydra by the Babylonians (Fig. 89) in the late period.[2]

Fig. 81. Combat of Marduk and a Dragon. Cylinder Seal

This myth of the Bêl-Dragon conflict was, therefore, well known among the Babylonians, and it is all the more remarkable that up to the present not a single Accadian seal or monument representing this combat in any style has been found outside the immediate vicinity of Babylon. Be it that the designs shew Marduk or Ashur subduing a winged lion, a serpent monster, or a Scorpion-man, they are invariably Assyrian. This is due to the simple fact that the Epic of Creation was a production of the priests of the city Babylon to glorify Marduk, and the mythology set forth in it was entirely rejected by all the other cults of

Babylonia. They maintained allegiance to the old Sumerian mythology and beliefs. If seal cylinders from Babylon itself could be found,[3] they probably would disclose the same representations as do the Assyrian seals. The Assyrians accepted the mythology of the priests of Babylon, and possibly the priests of Barsippa near Babylon did also. It is clear that the combat of Marduk and Tiamat, as set forth in the Epic of Creation, gave rise to the prolific designs of this legend in the late period. The extraordinary aspect of the situation is that, in this mode of en-

FIG. 82. COMBAT OF MARDUK AND THE DRAGON ZÛ. CYLINDER SEAL

graving seals and sculpturing designs on stone slabs of palaces, the artists reverted to the ancient Sumerian myths. Not once is the female dragon Tiamat represented. Fig. 82 shews one of these designs; here the monster Zû has become Pegasus.[4] Fig. 83 has a design which illustrates the conquest of the Scorpion-man in the epic. There are examples of a combat between Marduk or Ashur and a winged sphinx,[5] a winged human-headed animal with long beard,[6] a winged unicorn.[7] The monster usually appears as a winged lion, as on Fig. 81, and is the type adopted by the sculptors of Assyria. A variation of the lion [8] is shewn by Fig. 84. Here the lion has the eagle head,[9] accom-

panied by the inscription, " Marduk, protector of the soul, life bestow." The inscription apparently refers to the winged deity who wields a sickle-shaped weapon, and identifies the deity as Marduk. Another seal of the same type and bearing the same inscription enforces this conclusion.

The only Babylonian seals of this kind known to the writer are three from Kish. The seal, Fig. 85, was excavated at Kish in a Neo-Babylonian level, and is undoubtedly based upon the myth of Marduk and the dragons. Here Marduk with four

FIG. 83. COMBAT OF MARDUK AND SCORPION-MAN. CYLINDER SEAL

wings seizes a winged sphinx and a winged lion with eagle's head. On another seal from Kish the four-winged Marduk is in the act of smiting a winged sphinx with a scimetar precisely as in Fig. 84. All of these seals would naturally be assigned to Assyria by scholars if no evidence of their *provenance* were available. Another seal excavated at Kish represents Marduk struggling with two natural lions.[10] It must be admitted that there is a possibility of their having been imported from Assyria, but this is improbable. They prove, apparently, that the mythological views of the priests of Babylon were also accepted at Kish in the age of Nebuchadnezzar, and that at Babylon itself and the cities in its immediate environment the combat of Marduk with

the dragons was represented in art. In Assyrian glyptique there is another mythological representation in which the four-winged Ashur smites an ostrich (Fig. 86) or is represented struggling with two ostriches, one on either side.[11] A figure of the winged Marduk smiting a winged unicorn with his scimetar bears the inscription: "O Marduk, sparer of the soul, may I see thy bright light."[12] But when Marduk is represented struggling with such harmless animals as mountain deer,[13] it is difficult to believe that the ancient combat of the Sun-god with

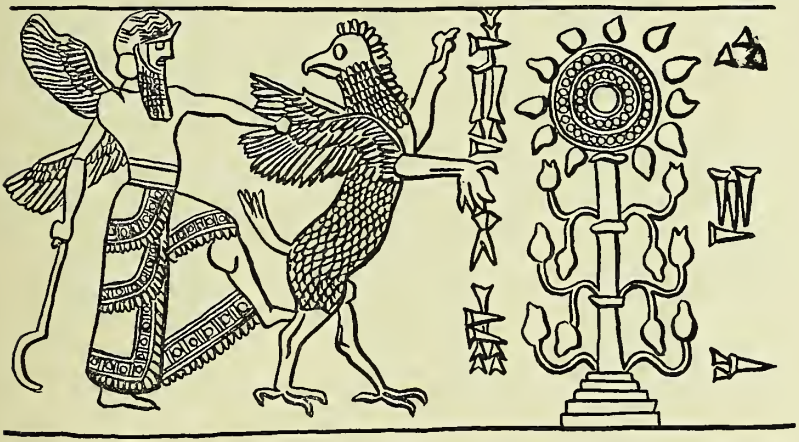

FIG. 84. COMBAT OF MARDUK AND THE EAGLE-HEADED LION. CYLINDER SEAL

a dragon is intended. It is equally difficult to understand how the ostrich can represent a myth of this kind, were it not for the fact that the ostrich was also a demon in Semitic mythology.

Frequently a human figure, undoubtedly the king, takes the place of the god Marduk in these combats with winged monsters. This is based either upon the legend of Lugalbanda, originally a king of Erech, and latterly identified with Ninurta, who conquered the lion-headed eagle Zû, dragon of storms and foe of the sun, or upon a ritual of this legend in which the king represented the Sun-god. See Fig. 87, a human being, struggling with a winged sphinx and a unicorn. It is difficult

to decide whether any of these monsters in conflict with Marduk represents the lion-headed eagle Zû of the old Sumerian myth of the Sun-god Ninurta and Zû the dragon of storms and darkness. The combat between light and darkness is the basis of the later myth of Marduk and Tiamat, but the cosmological and theological speculation is new and based upon the theory that all things sprang from watery chaos. For this reason the female serpent-dragon Tiamat, literally the word for the bitter

FIG. 85. CYLINDER SEAL EXCAVATED AT THE TEMPLE HURSAGKALAMA IN KISH. MARDUK IN COMBAT WITH WINGED LION. OXFORD FIELD MUSEUM EXPEDITION

ocean, became the principal dragon of Chaos and foe of the Sun-god. The dragon Zû of the old Sumerian myth does not survive in the new Babylonian Epic of Creation. Here the dragons in the train of Tiamat are Bašmu, " Viper," Mušhuššrû, " Raging-serpent," latterly the constellation Hydra, Lahamu, Ugallu, " Great-lion," probably Leo in Astronomy, Uridimmû, " the Gruesome-lion," the constellation Lupus, Girtablili, " the Scorpion-man," the constellation Sagittarius, Ûmû daprûti, " the Destructive Spirits," used as a singular (*pluralis majestatis*), Kulilu, " the Fish-man," the constellation Aquarius, Kusa-

riqqu, "the Fish-man," the constellation Capricorn. Other lists based upon this epic have also Zû and Asakku.

Of all these dragons of Chaos (according to the new philosophy of the epic), only Zû appears with certainty as a foe of the sun in the older system of mythology. In the representations of the battle of Marduk and the dragons the lion (Fig. 81) is probably Ugallu; the serpent monster with two forefeet of a lion or beast of prey (Fig. 57) is Mušhuššû. The winged horse

Fig. 86. Combat of Marduk and a Dragon Represented as an Ostrich. Cylinder Seal

(Fig. 82) is a form of Zû, based on an astronomical identification; possibly the eagle-headed lion (Fig. 84) is also Zû. The Scorpion-man is clear enough and leaves no doubt (Fig. 83). The winged sphinx (Fig. 85), the winged unicorn, the ostrich, the winged human-headed beast with long beard, are not identifiable with any of these dragons. The bearded beast with legs and body of a lion may perhaps be Kingu, husband of Tiamat and leader of her host. The winged sphinx has forefeet of a lion and hind legs of a bird of prey.

Besides Zû only the dragon Mušhuššû belongs to Sumerian

mythology, and there is no clear evidence that this serpent monster ever figured as a foe of the Sun-god. Fig. 88, from a monument of Gudea, shews the old Sumerian conception of this monster. The body and head are ophidian, the forefeet are those of a lion, and the hind legs those of a bird of prey. The tail ends in a scorpion's sting. It has a low crown with two horns; two feathers project from the top, and a lock of hair hangs from the back of its head. A seal of Gudea shews the god Ningishzida with the heads of this monster projecting

Fig. 87. A Man in Combat with the Winged Sphinx and a Wild Animal. Cylinder Seal

from his two shoulders.[14] The god Ningishzida was identified with the constellation Hydra in the late period and so was also Mušhuššû. The design of this animal as Hydra (Fig. 89), from an astronomical tablet of the age of the Seleucidae, emphasizes the serpent form of the body. The wings are reduced to small proportions. The horns and feathers are preserved (only one of each being shewn), and the forefeet. The design agrees almost completely with the scene of Marduk's conquest of this dragon on Fig. 57. In Sumerian mythology this monster is symbolic of Ningishzida, a vegetation deity and form of the dying god Tammuz. Sometimes he has not only the Mušhuššû springing from his shoulders but also a serpent twin-

ing about his body.[15] He was a chthonian deity and his parents were Ninazu and Ningirda, lord and queen of Arallu.

It is totally inexplicable that this monster, symbol of one of the most beneficent and unwarlike of gods, should have become

FIG. 88. THE DRAGON MUŠHUŠŠÛ. STONE VASE OF GUDEA

one of the dragons of the salt sea and foe of Marduk. In the Cassite period a debased type of Mušhuššû always accompanies the symbols of Marduk (Fig. 51, third register) and his son Nabu. A figure of this monster with emphasis upon its rapacious legs and claws was found at Nippur, from the period of Hammurabi, when the Epic of Creation was probably written.[16] The teaching of the Babylonian school certainly ran not at Nip-

pur, but this figure proves that the Mušhuššû had now become a dragon and symbol of some evil power. For this reason the advocates of the new philosophy and the new mythology at Babylon, who attached these myths of the conquest of the Sun-god over the dragons of darkness to Marduk, transformed Mušhuššû into the dragon of watery Chaos. Henceforth it becomes the principal symbol of his victory, and elaborate figures of this primeval sea-monster on the walls of Babylon recalled to all men who lived there, or who visited the magnificent capital in the great days of Nebuchadnezzar and the Persian kings, the triumph of Bêl "in the beginning" when he created the universe.

FIG. 89. THE CONSTELLATIONS LEO AND HYDRA AS MUŠHUŠŠÛ, WITH PLANET JUPITER. ASTRONOMICAL TABLET OF PERSIAN PERIOD

There is a close relation between this old Sumerian monster and the new female dragon Tiamat, introduced by the authors of the Epic of Creation to represent the hostile bitter waters of Chaos. Mušhuššû is, in fact, described in a Sumerian poem as inhabiting the *tamtu* or salt-sea, and in a work written to glorify the War-god Ninurta. It is, therefore, possible that, when the priests of Babylon elaborated the famous myth of the creation of the Heaven and Earth by Marduk out of the body of Tiamat, they already possessed a Sumerian legend which contained at least the beginning of this theory of the origin of all things from water.

A myth concerning a dragon Labbu, or Labu, has been preserved in Accadian, but references to this dragon in Sumerian heroic poetry prove that a myth concerning a battle between Ninurta and Labbu existed. The legend ran that cities and peoples sorrowed and wailed because of the Labbu, saying:

"Who *bore* this great serpent?
The sea (Tamtu = Tiamat) it is that bore this great serpent.
Enlil designed him in the Heavens.
Fifty miles is his length, one mile long is his *head* (?),
Six cubits (wide) is his mouth, twelve cubits is his . . .
Twelve cubits are the borders of his ears.
At a distance of sixty cubits he . . . birds.
In the water he drags his *tail* nine cubits.
He lifts high his tail. . . ."

All the Heaven bowed down before Enlil(?) laying hold of the robe of the Moon-god, and saying:

"Who will go and slay the Labbu,
Deliver the wide land,
And exercise the kingship?
Go, O Tishpak, slay the Labbu,
Deliver the wide land,
And exercise kingship."

It is not clear whether the gods gave Tishpak this order, or whether it was Enlil or Sin, the Moon-god. The appeal to the Moon-god recalls the myth of the seven devils who were supposed to have surrounded the crescent of the moon, and caused its period of darkness at the end of the month. In fact one of these seven devils was called Abbu in a text which probably has omitted the sign *la*, and the name is really Labbu.[17] Tishpak is an Elamitic name for Ninurta, and a hymn to Ninurta says that "At the mention of his name the mighty power of the form of Labbu whom Enlil in his might begat bowed before him."

Labbu means strictly speaking "the raging one," and is often employed for "lion." In this myth Labbu is a "great serpent," and the Sumerian epic of Ninurta discussed in Chapter II refers to this Labbu, the great serpent, the powerful god, despoiler of all lands, offspring of [the river Habur?], whom the bearded Ninurta smote and [severed] his body.[18] In the late Assyrian version of this myth its original form is overlaid with new *motifs*. The serpent monster created by Enlil refers

to an unrecovered Sumerian legend of the destruction of the world by Enlil similar to those sent by the same god and described in Chapter VIII. Then the Labbu is turned into a dragon of Chaos, enemy of the gods, against whom their champion, always Ninurta in the old mythology, goes forth to battle. Moreover a new astronomical interpretation is added. Enlil designed him among the stars, which indicates a confusion with Mušhuššû, that is Hydra. The most important aspect of the myth is that as a dragon of Chaos, clearly foreign to the original version, Labbu was begotten by the female dragon of the salt sea, Tamtu.

When Tishpak heard the order of Enlil(?) to slay Labbu he said:

"Thou hast sent me, O lord; the offspring of the river [*Habur*]
I know not and the . . . of Labbu."

Here the text has a long break in which Tishpak's speech is lost, and when the narrative can be taken up again Enlil(?) gives directions to Tishpak.

"Cause a cloud to go up, a hurricane [*unchain.*]
The seal of thy soul before thy face [hold].
Rush forth, slay the Labbu."

And so he sent forth a cloud and *unchained* a hurricane; he held his seal of life before him, rushed forth, and slew Labbu. For three years, three months, one day, and ten . . . the blood of Labbu ran upon the [*sea*].

This text provides one of the few clear evidences that Sumerian mythology actually contained the basis of all later Babylonian speculations concerning the origin of the universe from water, and furnished the Babylonian schoolmen with material for the myth of Tamtu or Tiamat, dragon of the sea. The old Sumerian word for the salt-sea was *a-ab-ba,* or simply *ab,* and they had a liturgy known as "*a-ab-ba* the terrifying."[19] The Sumerian dragon of the primeval bitter sea was a male dragon

subdued by Ninurta.[20] In the later Babylonian speculation the Semitic word for the salt-sea, *tamtu, tiamtu, ta-a-wa-tu, tu-amat, ti-amat,* as it is variously spelled, supplanted the male dragon Ugga, Mušhuššû of Sumerian mythology, and became a female monster solely because this *word* is feminine in Semitic.

The Babylonian Epic of Creation [21] was written in six books or tablets, with a late appendix added as the seventh book, as a commentary on the fifty sacred Sumerian titles of Marduk. No copies of the Babylonian text exist earlier than the age of Nebuchadnezzar. The epic had immense vogue in Assyria, where the national god Ashur replaced Marduk's name in most of the copies, and it is from the city Ashur that all the earliest known texts are derived. These are at least three centuries earlier than any surviving southern copy. Since traces of the influence of the epic are found in Babylonian iconography as early as the sixteenth century, it is assumed that the work was composed in the period of Babylon's great literary writers of the first dynasty. If they had a Sumerian model before them it may have been the lost poem:

> " In a day of antiquity, when they created Heaven and Earth,
> In a night of antiquity, when they created Heaven and Earth." [22]

Whatever may have been the philosophical theories set forth in any of the earlier compositions, it is clear that the theories propounded in this epic are those which prevailed henceforth among Semitic peoples. The epic is known from its first line, *enuma eliš la nabû šamamu,* " When on high the Heavens were not named," involving the theory that nothing existed before the gods had conceived its form and given it a name. And " beneath home(s) bore no name(s)." Then the *apsû* or underworld fresh water sea, the primeval engenderer of all things, and *tiamtu,* the salt-sea, bearer of all, mingled their waters together. These were the original male and female principles of the watery Chaos, and there was Mummu, messenger of Apsû (personified as a divine creature) whose name

means "intelligence," the creative word or principle inherent in water. Damascius, a Greek philosopher of the sixth century A.D., reports this theory more accurately than any classical author. He says that the Babylonians pass over the first principle of all things and begin with two, Tauthe and Apasōn, making Apasōn the husband of Tauthe; from them proceeded the only begotten Mōymis. He interprets Mōymis to mean the intelligible world. The Babylonians themselves interpreted Mummu to mean both "utterance," i.e., "word," "*logos*," and "life." Berossus, who wrote at Babylon when these doctrines were still well known, describes their theories as having been revealed by Oannes himself. He says that there was a time when all was darkness and water in which came to life monsters of peculiar forms. There were men with two wings and some with four wings, and two faces. They had two heads, one of a male, the other of a female, and were androgynous. Some had legs and horns of goats, some horses' feet; some had the bodies of men and hindquarters of horses like hippocentaurs. There were men with heads of bulls, and dogs with four bodies and tails of fishes; there were horses with heads of dogs and there were men and animals having heads and bodies of horses, with tails of fishes. All sorts of monstrous beings existed in this Chaos, and Berossus saw designs of them in the temple of Bêl in Babylon.

These primeval monsters are the dragons in the train of Tiamat, who figured in various older stories of the combats of Ninurta and the monsters of darkness and watery Chaos. In all the late texts Bêl refers to Marduk. Berossus says that there ruled over them a woman named Omorōka (usually corrected to Omorka), in Chaldaean Thalatd, which means "sea." Thalatd is surely a corruption of Thamte, for Tamtu, Tiamat. No title of Tiamat which could have given rise to the name Omorōka has been found.

Apsû and his wife Tiamat ruled in this Chaos long before the gods existed.

Tab. I, 7. "When none of the gods had been brought into being,
And they were not named, and had not been decreed
(their) fates."

The epic then describes how the gods of order descended through a series of divine pairs. The first pair were Lahmu and Lahamu, about whose characters the authors of the epic are themselves in doubt, sometimes assigning them to the original brood of dragons, and sometimes regarding them as the first of the gods of order. These names are preserved by Damascius as Lachē and Lachos.

A description of a monster, called *Sassû . . . innu,* says that it had a serpent head with body of a fish, and that it was a Lahmu of the sea.[23] Here the word is used as a general name for a sea-serpent. The same text calls Asakku, one of the primeval dragons, a Lahmu, and Lahmu himself is described. He clutches Heaven with his two hands; he binds on a girdle. His left foot treads the earth, and his right foot is twisted. The ridge of his right foot is a bird's claw, and one of his parts is like that of a lion. His name is Lahmu, the calamity.

After ages the pair Anshar and Kishar were created, and they were more excellent than the preceding deities. With them begins a series of emanations definitely regarded as gods of the pantheon and opposed to the powers of darkness. Anshar, the male, means simply "host of Heaven," and Kishar, the female, "host of Earth."

13. "The days lengthened, the years increased.
Anu was their son, the equal of his fathers,
Anshar made Anu his first-born equal to himself.
Anu begat Nudimmud, his equal,
Nudimmud the 'begetter' of his fathers was he."

Nudimmud, title of the third member of the trinity, is a name of Enki (Ea) the Water-god. He is called "begetter," as the deity who created the pantheon of artisan gods, and his

fathers Lahmu, Anshar, and Anu, regarded him as the "begetter" among themselves. The epic omits the great Earth-god Enlil, second member of the trinity. But Damascius preserves the tradition that from Kissarē and Assōros descended Anos, Illinos, and Aos, i.e., Anu, Enlil, and Ea. The omission of the all-important Enlil is due to the connivance of the priests of Babylon, who wished to exalt their City-god Marduk into the ancient *rôles* of Ninurta and his father Enlil. Marduk was the son of Ea, and consequently the Water-god Ea enters upon the scene as the first hero of the epic.

Ea or Nudimmud was wide-eared, wise, and mighty in strength, even more than Anshar his progenitor; the gods banded themselves together, revolted against Tiamat, and glorified their defender (Ea). They troubled the mind of Tiamat with their singing in Anduruna (a name of the underworld in mythology) and their clamour was not diminished in the Apsû. According to this myth the gods still lived in the watery Chaos.

Their behaviour was obnoxious to Tiamat, and Apsû, her husband, summoned Mummu, his messenger, and together they went to Tiamat. They sat down before her and Apsû said:

37. "Their way has become grievous unto me.
By day I find not peace, by night I sleep not.
I will destroy and confound their ways.
Let tranquillity reign and let us sleep, even us."

Tiamat flew into a rage and planned to destroy the gods. Mummu urged his father Apsû to put an end to the rebellion.

51. "Apsû hearkened unto him and his countenance beamed.
Because he planned injuries against the gods his sons.
The neck of Mummu he embraced.
He lifted him to his knees and kissed him."

These three planned the utter annihilation of the gods and they repeated their decision to them:

57. "The gods wept as they hastened.
Silence reigned and they sat whispering.
The exceedingly wise one, the clever in skill,
Ea, who knoweth all things, perceived their plan."

Ea's weapon, which he employed to subdue the dragon Apsû, was a curse and an incantation. The first combat between the gods and the dragons now arrives. Ea recited his curse over the waters and poured out sleep over Apsû as he lay in a cavern. Having him now at his mercy, Ea castrated him, severed his sinews, and tore off his crown.

68. "His splendour he took from him and he clothed himself with it.[24]
He bound Apsû and slew him.
Mummu he tied and his skull he crushed.
He fixed upon the Apsû his dwelling.
72. Mummu he seized making firm his bands."

By this myth the epic explains how Ea obtained the fresh-water sea beneath the earth as his own abode. Ea's method of combat by an incantation is entirely consonant with his character in Sumero-Babylonian religion. He was the supreme deity of lustration and keeper of the holy curses employed by the priests against demons.

Ea founded his secret chamber in the Apsû, and therein Lahmu and Lahamu took up their abode. This is the Assyrian version, but the original Babylonian texts have Ea and Damkina his wife as the pair who took possession of the Apsû. Damascius again reported the tradition correctly when he wrote Aos and Daaukē. Here was born the hero of the myth, Marduk, whom Damascius names Bêlos. The Assyrian copies, of course, replace Marduk by Ashur. Marduk's infancy and youth are now described. Damkina, his mother, caused him to suck at the breasts of goddesses, an illogical statement, for no account is made of the creation of other goddesses. His nurse filled him with terrible power, his form was beautiful, and his eyes brilliant. Ea his father rejoiced for his noble

son and gave him double divinity; he surpassed all in height, and his proportions were immeasurably great, overpowering to behold.

Marduk is here described as Janus-headed, corresponding to the traditions concerning the Sun-gods.[25]

"Four were his eyes, four were his ears.
When he moved his lips fire blazed forth.
Four ears grew large,
And his eyes behold all things even as that one (Ea)."

. . . . . .

"What for a son, what for a son?
A sun child was he, Sun-god of the gods.
He was clothed in the splendour of ten gods, powerful was he exceedingly.
The . . . loaded their fieriness upon him.
. . . and Anu begat the four winds,
Which restrain the Mušhuššû, commander of the host."

In a later episode Marduk employed the winds in his combat with Tiamat, as did Tishpak in his struggle with the Labbu. The dragon Tiamat was disturbed by the news of the death of Apsû, her husband. Day and night she hastened. Her offspring came to her aid.

"The *sons impure* . . .
They plotted evil in their minds.
To Tiamat the mother these said:
'When they slew Apsû thy husband,
At his side thou didst not go, but thou didst sit as one wailing.
Make thou a scimetar *full* of terror.
Torn asunder are thy bowels, and we sleep not.
Remember Apsû thy husband
And Mummu who is bound; thou sittest alone.
. . . quickly shalt thou hasten.
. . . thou lovest us not.
Poured out are our bowels, dazed are our eyes.
[*Let them bear*] the yoke and let us repose unceasingly.
. . . take vengeance for them
. . . and hand over to the whirlwind.'

Tiamat heard and the word(s) pleased her:
['*Come* . . .] give ye and let us make spirits of wrath.
[Let us . . .] and the gods in the midst of . . . [let us . . .]
. . . we will make war, against the gods we will . . .'"

The text gives no further account of how Tiamat created the host of monsters, but proceeds immediately to describe them.

"They cursed the day-(light) and went forth at the side of Tiamat.
They raged, they plotted, without resting night and day.
They raised (the standard of) battle, they fumed, they raged.
They assembled forces, making hostility.
Mother Hubur, the designer of all things,
Added thereto weapons which are not withstood; she gave birth to mighty serpents,
Sharp of tooth, sparing not the fang.
With poison as blood she filled their bodies.
Gruesome monsters she caused to be clothed with terror.
She caused them to bear dreadfulness, she made them like gods.
Whosoever beholds them they ban with terror.
Their bodies rear up and none restrain their breast."

Then the nine monsters in her train are named,[26] nine in all. The epic says that there were eleven, by which it must be supposed that two are not mentioned. These are probably Zû and Asakku, whose names may have been omitted through some prejudice of the priests at Babylon. Their names appear, however, in the rituals based upon this epic. Now appears for the first time the monster Kingu, more correctly Qingu, also written in one text Kingugu. This dragon does not appear in early mythology at all, and is thought to be an invention of the authors of the epic. If, however, Kingu is a creation of the Babylonian priests in order to obtain a second husband for Tiamat to replace the slain Apsû, it would be difficult to explain a late Babylonian copy of a mystic Tablet, a commentary with symbols of deities, used by the *kalû* priests or psalmists.[27] It is said to have been copied at Nippur from an ancient text,

and it is certain that the Babylonian theories of creation were never accepted at this ancient Sumerian city. This Tablet mentions the god Kingugu among seven captured gods, and identifies him with Enmesharra, ancient god of the lower world. His name is also written Kingû of the month Nisan, whom Anu and Enlil [slew?]. The word is clearly of Sumerian origin, but his function in earlier mythology is unknown.

146. "Among the gods her first-born, who formed her assembly,
She exalted Kingu, in their midst she magnified him.
As for those who go before the host, who direct the assembly,
To undertake the bearing of arms, to advance to the attack,
150. As to matters of battle, as to leadership,
She entrusted (them) to his hand and caused him to sit in the council (saying)
'I have uttered thy spell; in the assembly of gods have I magnified thee.
The dominion of the gods, all of them, I have put into thy hand.
Verily thou hast been exalted, O my husband, thou alone.
May thy names be greater than all the Anunnaki.'"

Tiamat gave him the Tablets of Fate, fastened them to his breast, and so Kingu at once took up his supreme authority among the sons of Tiamat and said:

"Open ye your mouths; verily it shall quench Gibil (the Fire-god).
He who is strong in conflict shall humiliate might."

Marduk, the new champion of the gods of order, is frequently referred to as the Fire-god. So also was Ninurta, prototype of Marduk, in original Sumerian mythology.

(Tablet II.) Tiamat now prepared to wage war and avenge Apsû. Ea, as usual, was the first of the gods to hear of the preparations of the dragons of Chaos.

6. "Painfully he became faint, like one that lapses into silence he sat down.
The days lengthened and when his anger cooled,
To Anshar, his father, he pursued his way."

Ea repeated to Anshar the whole plot, saying: "Tiamat who gave birth to us, has cursed us. She hath called together a host, angrily raging. All the gods have turned away unto her, except those whom thou hast created." Ea describes to Anshar the nine monsters, "eleven in all," and how Kingu had become her husband and leader of the dragons. Anshar smote his loins and bit his lips. He urged Ea to lead the gods to battle; for had he not already destroyed Mummu and Apsû? But none of the gods was less warlike than the wise Ea and he refused the combat. Apparently the curse which subdued Apsû would be ineffective against the armed dragons and Kingu possessed of the Tablets of Fate. This was the work for those of the sword and not of magic.

Anshar then appealed to Anu, who proceeded at once against Tiamat. He fled in terror from before her, and as he fled he said to her:

"My hand is too weak to bind thee by myself."

Anshar lapsed into silence, moaned, and assembled all of the gods, the Anunnaki.

89. "Their lips were closed, they sat as one wailing.
'Not any god proceeds [unto battle.]
From the presence of Tiamat not one escapes [with his life].'"

Anshar sat pondering as he presided over the assembly and now bethought himself of Marduk, "the scourge of conflict," "avenger of his father." Marduk would avenge his father Ea's humiliation, even as Ninurta had done for his father Enlil. A passage referring to the same situation in a lost Sumerian myth has the following address of Enlil to Ninurta:

"Ninurta, the lord, the fierce storm, the slayer of the wicked, my son the avenger,
Where battle rages surely shall be thy companion." [28]

And so Ea summoned his son Marduk before the assembly, urged him to consider the matter and to enter into the presence

of Anshar. Before that august presence stood the youthful champion of the threatened gods, and said:

108. "Anshar, remain not dumb; open thy lips.
Verily I will go; I will cause to be attained the fulness of thy heart.
Who by name has brought battle against thee?"

And Anshar replied:

"My son, it is Tiamat, a woman; she will come against thee with weapons."

Marduk assured Anshar that straightway he should tread upon the neck of Tiamat, to which Anshar replied:

116. "My son wise in all understanding,
Cause Tiamat to cease by the pure incantation.
The *chariot* of storms drive quickly.
Her helpers will *not tarry* for her; turn her back."

Marduk, however, demands his price, and here the complicity of the Babylonian schoolmen is again naively revealed. The god of Babylon did not have the status of a great god in the Sumerian pantheon. They now explained how he attained this dignity, at least to their satisfaction, an effort which excited the scorn of the priests of the old cults. Marduk exacts from Anshar the promise to convene the assembly of gods and reconsider his "fate," if he binds Tiamat and preserves their lives.

126. "In Ubshukkinaku seat yourself together gladly.
If my mouth be opened may I decree fates even as you.
And whatsoever I create shall change not.
May the speech of my lips not return and be of no avail."

(Tablet III.) Anshar summoned his messenger Gaga and sent him to Lahmu and Lahamu, commanding him to summon all the gods to a banquet. He is told to describe to Lahmu and Lahamu the whole plot of Tiamat. Gaga hears from Anshar the long tale about the creation of the nine dragons and the

advent of Kingu as their leader, how Anu had fled before Tiamat and Ea feared and turned back. Gaga is instructed to say that Marduk had volunteered to slay Tiamat if he be raised to the rank of a great god.

Gaga came to Lahmu and Lahamu, kneeled and kissed the ground before them, and repeated the story of Tiamat's preparations to them. Marduk's demand is put before them.

125. "When Lahha [Lahmu] and Lahamu heard this they cried loudly.
The totality of the Igigi wailed bitterly;
'Why have they become hostile, until they have conceived this device?
We knew not of the deed of Tiamat.'"

Here the gods of the upper world are correctly described as the Igigi, in distinction from the gods of the nether sea and the lower world.

The gods assembled and departed to Ubshukkinaku, assembly hall of Anshar.

132. "They kissed one another and convened in assembly.
They conversed together as they were seated at the banquet.
They ate bread and prepared wine.
135. The sweet drink put far away their cares.
As they drank liquor their bodies became satiated.
Much they babbled and their mood was exalted.
For Marduk their avenger they decreed his fate."

(Tablet IV.) Although Heaven and Earth had not yet been created and the power of Chaos still presided over the disorderly primordial abyss, the illogical statement that the gods found food and wine for a hilarious feast troubled not the myth-makers of Babylon. In this cheerful mood the gods summoned Marduk before them and said:

5. "Thou hast become honoured among the great gods.
Thy fate is unparalleled, thy commandment is like Anu's.
From this day shall thy word not be changed.
To exalt and to humble — this is in thy hand."

They gave him kingship of universal power and admitted him to their assembly. To test his qualification as possessor of the power to determine "fate" (*shimtu*) they placed a garment in their midst, and said "command 'to destroy and to make.'" He commanded that the garment be destroyed and at his word it was destroyed; he commanded that it be remade and it was remade. The gods saw that he had attained the power of a great divinity, he possessed the ability to decree "fate"; they rejoiced and said, "Marduk is king." They gave him the insignia of kingship, sceptre, throne, and hatchet, and said:

31. "Go and cut off the breath of life of Tiamat.
May the winds bear away her blood to a secret place."

He made ready bow and arrow and took a toothed-sickle in his right hand. Forked lightning he held before his face. Bow and quiver hung at his side.

The representations of his combat with the Mušhuššû (see Fig. 57) correspond faithfully with the text, except that here Marduk has forked lightning in both hands. The weapon translated by "toothed-sickle" is seen on numerous designs of Marduk's combats, for example Figs. 84, 86; a seal cylinder dedicated to Marduk by Mardukzakirshum, king of Babylonia (ninth century) shews him with an exaggerated design of the long-handled scimetar in his right hand (Fig. 90). The forepart of Mušhuššû appears at his feet, and he stands on the waters of the sea whose dragons he had conquered.

He made a net to enmesh Tiamat, and caused the four winds to come that she escape not, the south, north, east, and west winds. He created the Seven Winds, and took his quiver the "Cyclone," and drove in his chariot of the storm. The names of the animals of his four span were "The Destroyer," "The Merciless," "The Stormer," "The Swift-pacing." Sharp were their teeth, bearing poison. He was clad in a kaunakes, and a sheen of flames surrounded his head. He advanced

FIG. 90. MARDUK AND MUŠHUŠŠÛ. CYLINDER SEAL FROM BABYLON. NINTH CENTURY B.C.

against Tiamat holding a charm of red paste (?) in his lips, and bore on his wrist the " Plant of extinguishing poison."

He drew nigh and peered into her inward parts, and saw the open jaws of Kingu her husband, and his confidence faltered, his mind became distracted, and his movements disordered. The gods, who had gathered to witness the combat, were faint with despair. Tiamat cast her curse at him and said:

73. " Thou hast been honoured to the place of lord of the gods who rise up for thee."

Bêl seized his quiver, and thus challenged her:

77. " Lo thou art come up, thou hast been lifted up on high.
Thy heart has prompted thee to summon to conflict.

81. Thou hast *exalted* Kingu unto marriage.
Thou hast made his decree greater than the decrees of Anu.
[Against] Anshar, king of the gods, thou hast sought after evil.
Against the gods, my fathers, thou hast established thy wickedness.
85. Let thy host be equipped and thy weapons be girded on.
Stand thou by and let us, me and thee, make battle."

When Tiamat heard this challenge her body shook with rage; she recited an incantation and uttered a curse. The weapons clashed in the great struggle between light and darkness. Bêl spread his net, which Anu had given him, and enmeshed her. He let loose the Imhullu wind in her face. As Tiamat opened her mouth to devour him, the Imhullu wind blew into her, the raging winds filled her belly. His arrow tore her belly, severed her inwards, and rent asunder her heart. He bound her and stood upon her corpse. Her host of dragons scattered and fled in terror. They sought to save their souls alive but were trapped and bound.

112. " Into a net were they thrown and in the snare they sat down.
They stood in secret chambers, being filled with lamentation."

All of the eleven dragons were bound and cast into prison. Henceforth they became gods of the lower world. They were

also identified with various constellations by the astronomers. Kingu also was bound and handed over to Nergal, god of Arallu. Marduk seized the Tablets of Fate from Kingu's breast, sealed them with a seal, and fastened them to his own breast.

Marduk now returned to the corpse of Tiamat. He split her skull, severed her arteries, and the north-wind carried her blood to a hidden place, a legend which may possibly explain the origin of the name "Red Sea." The connection with the myth of Tishpak and the slaying of the Labbu (an older myth) is unmistakable. Tishpak held his seal or talisman before him or wore it at his throat when he attacked the Labbu, and the blood of the Labbu ran for more than three years.

He split her into two parts, and with half of her he made the Heavens. He drew out her skin and caused watchmen to take charge of it. He directed them not to let her waters come forth.

"He set over against (the Heavens) the abode of Nudimmud on the face of the Deep.
Bêl measured the dimension of the Deep (Apsû).
144. A vast abode its counterpart he fixed, that is Esharra.
He caused Anu, Enlil, and Ea to occupy their abodes."

Thus Marduk made Heaven for Anu, Esharra, or earth, for Enlil, and fixed the place of the Apsû or fresh-water sea beneath the earth for Ea. The canopy of Heaven was made from the stretched-out skin of Tiamat, and he confined the waters which cause rain above this canopy. The watchmen of Heaven are the figures of monsters and animals in the constellations. The Hebrew account of creation as preserved in a late document of Genesis, Chapter I, although clearly dependent upon this Babylonian myth (at least in phraseology), portrays the creation in strictly monotheistic terms. Before Elōhim created Heaven and Earth, the earth was formless and confused, and darkness lay on the face of the primeval sea (Tehōm). The wind of Elōhim hovered over the face of the waters; perhaps

the writer does not have in mind the Babylonian conception of a wind-blown watery abyss, but the creative spirit of Elōhim brooding over it. A combat between light and darkness is wholly absent here, but survives in other mythological references in the Old Testament, especially in Job and the Psalms.[29] Light is created at the command of God and the regular movement of the sun fixed, producing day and night, even before Heaven and Earth were created out of the Tehōm. This was the work of Elōhim on the first day.

The creation of Heaven on the second day reflects clearly enough the Babylonian epic. A "firmament" was created to divide the waters above it from those beneath it and God called it "the Heavens." "The waters beneath the Heavens shall gather into one place, and dry land shall appear," said Elōhim. The word used for firmament means "what is spread out,"[30] and corresponds to the skin of Tiamat used by Marduk to construct the vault of Heaven. The dry land God named "earth" and the waters that gathered together He named "seas."

(Tablet V.) The fifth tablet, which contained a poem on astronomy, the creation and movements of the planets, positions of the constellations, and probably also the creation of animals and plants, is almost entirely unrecovered. This poem so far as preserved contains much astrology. In fact it begins with Marduk's creation of the hypsomata or stellar positions in the Heavens, where each planet had the greatest influence upon nature and the affairs of men. Babylonian astronomy forms an extremely important part of their mythology, but until the late period was pursued almost entirely for astrological purposes. The text says simply that Marduk created the stations of the great gods. The following stations or hypsomata are known. The station of Ishtar-Venus was Pisces; of Sin-Moon, Taurus; of Shamash-Sun, Aries; of Nergal-Mars, Capricorn; of Marduk-Jupiter, Cancer; since all these identifications, now known from astronomical texts, agree with Greek hypsomata, and Greek astronomical and astrological systems were

almost entirely borrowed from Babylonia, it is presumed that the stations of the other planets and gods identified with them should be completed from Greek astrology; hence Ninurta-Mars had the station Libra; Nabu-Mercury, Virgo. The religious or mythical reasons for these relations of planets to signs

Fig. 91. Constellations Corvus, Hydra, and Virgo, with Planet Mercury. Astronomical Tablet. Persian Period

of the zodiac are unknown. The fish for some reason suggested sexual love and ideas, and hence Pisces may have been chosen for the planet of Ishtar. Fig. 89 shews Marduk-Jupiter in his station west of Leo, near Cancer; his star stands just above the head of Hydra before Leo on a monument of the eighth century. Fig. 91 shews the planet of Nabu-Mercury in Virgo,

Fig. 92. The Pleiades, Moon in Taurus. Astronomical Tablet. Persian Period

and to the left (west), the constellation Corvus, standing on the tail of Hydra, the stellar Mušhuššû of Fig. 89. Virgo is here represented as a goddess holding an ear of corn, the original conception of Spica, principal star in Virgo. Fig. 92 shews the Moon-god Sin in Taurus. The Moon-god stands in his crescent smiting a lion. To the left are the seven Pleiades.

These figures are all taken from astronomical tablets of the Seleucidae period, but the astrological principles are known to have originated earlier.[31]

Marduk then placed all the constellations in their places, and these are called their "likeness," apparently referring to the dragons which were bound by him and cast into the lower world. He fixed the year, designed the twelve signs of the zodiac through which the sun passes during twelve months, and for each month he fixed three stars. The scribe means that, as the sun passed through each sign of the zodiac, three stars that rose in succession heliacally during that month are taken as the decans of that month. That is, when the sun is in its first ten days (approximately) of any month, a prominent star rising heliacally during this first decan would be the star of the first decan of that month. They would thus be "time regulators," as the Greeks called the stellar decans. There are many other theories about the thirty-six stars which fix the course of the sun as time regulators, but they are too intricate and conjectural to be stated here.[32] Thus Marduk defined the days of the year by stellar signs.

He then fixed the points at which the sun crosses the celestial equator at the spring and autumnal equinoxes. Having fixed the stars in the track of the sun (ecliptic), that is the way of Anu, he fixed the southern band of stars, or the way of Ea, and the northern band of stars, or the way of Enlil. He made gates at the eastern and western horizons for the sun to enter and depart. In the belly of Tiamat he placed the vault of Heaven, and fixed the motions of the moon. Unfortunately not more than one fifth of the fifth Tablet is preserved, and the account of other acts of the creation is lost. The contents of the long lacuna can be conjectured by other accounts of the creation, and the parallel Hebrew account.

(Tablet VI.) From the fragmentary lines at the end of the fifth Tablet, it may be assumed that the gods praised Marduk for having created Heaven and Earth and delivered them in

sore distress. The sixth Tablet begins with an account of the creation of man. In the Hebrew record of Genesis i–ii.4, which probably followed the order of events in the Epic of Creation, the account of the creation of man is also the last act. Marduk brought Kingu bound before Ea, his father, and slew him. From the blood of Kingu Ea made man. Marduk now assigns to the gods of Heaven and Earth and to the gods of the lower world their several functions. He placed three hundred in Heaven, and three hundred to manage the "ways of the Earth."

32. "After Marduk, the king, had issued the laws of the totality of the gods,
And for the Anunnaki of Heaven and Earth had decreed their laws.
The Anunnaki opened their mouths
35. Saying unto Marduk, their lord:
'O divine light, lord who has brought about our deliverance,
What shall be our sign of deliverance before thee?
Come let us make a shrine whose name is called,
"Thy chamber, lo it is our place of repose by night"; come let us repose therein.
Come, we will found a shrine as an abode for thee.
On the day when we shall arrive we will repose therein.'"

The epic here begins the mythical account of the founding in Babylon of Marduk's temple Esagila, "Temple of the lifting of the head," or "which lifts (high) its head," and the origin of the New Year festival, when all the gods were assembled to his Ubshukinnaku to decree the fates for the ensuing year. The authors assume that Esagila was the first temple built on earth, an assertion which contradicted all the historical and legendary records of Sumer and Accad. Only Berossus, himself a priest of Babylon, among historians, admitted this pretension. He it was who placed Babylon first among the antediluvian cities and suppressed Eridu of the ancient records.

The gods themselves worked with pickaxes and made bricks,

and in the second year finished Esagila, founded on the nether sea. They built the lofty stage-tower on the nether sea, and constructed chapels for themselves in Esagila. They then assembled in the central shrine of Marduk where he addressed them:

52. "This Babylon is the abode of your dwelling-place.
Make glad sound herein. . . ."

And so the gods sat down to a feast with much music and drinking of liquor. Then laws were fixed and plans made. The places of all the gods in Heaven and Earth were arranged. The "seven gods of fates" fixed the fates. Marduk, here called Enlil, placed his scimetar before them. The gods saw his net and bow. Anu addressed the assembly, kissed the bow, and gave it three names. "Long wood" was its first name; the second name is lost on the Tablets; the third name was "Bow star," that is Canis Major, the bow of the hunter Orion. Here followed a hymn by the gods to Marduk:

82. "His command is made surpassing. . . .
He has been exalted, he the heroic son. . . .
His supreme rule is made surpassing. . . .
85. May he shepherd the dark-headed peoples. . . .
Forever without forgetting let them rehearse [his deeds].
May he establish for his fathers the great cult offerings.
May they (the people) perform their upkeep, and appoint their festivals.
May he smell incense; their food offerings may he receive.
90. As an imitation of what he made in Heaven, on Earth a . . .
Shall he order and the dark-headed people shall dwell. . . .
Let mankind think of their god."

The statement that all things on Earth are replicas of what is in Heaven is clear proof of the theories of some modern scholars.[33] For example, the constellation Iku, or Canal Star, is said to be the star of Babylon, and the heavenly pattern of Marduk's temple Esagila. This constellation certainly included Aries and Cetus. The sun at the spring equinox stood

in Aries, during the period 1900 B.C., to the Christian era, and its heliacal rising marked the beginning of the New Year then. The New Year's festival at Babylon included rituals based upon the Epic of Creation, and consequently the natural identification of Babylon and its great temple would have been Aries, when the mythologists sought for a heavenly prototype. During the celebrations of this festival, on the fourth day of Nisan the high priest stood facing the north and recited a hymn entitled: "O Canal star, thou Esagila, likeness of Heaven and Earth," that is, likeness of the temple in Heaven and of the temple on Earth,[34] and three times he praised Esagila by reciting this prayer. Figure 93, from a Babylonian seal cylinder, shews a design which is probably based upon this astronomical myth. It represents the tower of Babylon with five stages only, whereas in the late period it had seven. This alone proves that the seal is earlier than the seventh century. A monument of Merodach-baladan, end of the eighth century, has already been cited[35] to prove that the astral myths of the epic were known in Babylonian iconography before the Neo-Babylonian period.

FIG. 93. THE TOWER OF BABEL IN ASTRONOMICAL MYTH. CYLINDER SEAL, THIRTEENTH CENTURY B.C.

The tower stands on a stream represented as a rope, and means that it stands on the Apsû or nether sea. The reason for its being represented as a rope is due to Babylonian philosophy; for the creative principle of the universe was water, or the Water-god, who is often called the *tarkullu*, "rope," or *markasu*, "band of the universe." The epic says that Esagila

and the stage-tower were founded on the Apsû. Before this tower stands the priest, pouring out a libation toward the tower, and holding a jar from which spring flames of incense. If this scene is astronomical, the tower would represent Aries, and the fish to the left, the constellation Pisces. The tower would also stand for the beginning of the new year, and the fish for the end of the old year. The priest would be performing the ceremony referred to above, and singing a hymn to the heavenly tower or Aries. An astral identification for the Apsû or stream of water is unknown; it may perhaps be identical with the constellation of the holy city Eridu, seat of the cult of Enki, god of the Apsû. This city was identified with a group of stars, including Vela, Puppis, and part of the long constellation Eridanus, "The River" of Greek astronomy. It has been suggested that Eridanus, the huge constellation stretching across the southern Heavens below Cetus and Pisces, from Orion to Cursa, was derived from the city Eridu.[36] The fox to the left (in astronomy to the west) of the fish, would be an unidentified Fox star, known to have been located there.[37] The theory that this seal represents the astral prototypes of Babylon and its temples has its attractions, but should be accepted with caution.[38] The assumption that all things on earth have their counterparts in Heaven was a belief universally accepted in Babylonia in the pre-Christian centuries and widely accepted throughout Western Asia in the Apocalyptic and Gnostic period. It gave rise to a passionate belief in "the mansions in the skies," and Jesus taught His disciples, "In my Father's house are many mansions."

The hymn of praise sung by the gods to Marduk ends with a long eulogy of his fifty names, with laudatory comments upon the thoughts suggested by his principal titles. First of all they refer to his name Marduk, and then to Ligiršagkušašša,

"Defender the solicitous," "who stood forth and her hostility was broken." [39]

116. "Wide is his heart, warming is his compassion."

The next name is Lugaldimmerankia, "Lord of the gods of Heaven and Earth,"

"We have exalted the commands of his mouth above those of the gods his fathers.
So he is lord of the gods of Heaven and Earth — all of them."

The next name is Naridimmeranki, "Musterer of the gods of Heaven and Earth,"

"Who in Heaven and Earth founded our dwelling-place in time of distress.
Who allotted places to the Igigi and Anunnaki.
At his names may the gods tremble, may they quake in (their) dwelling-places."

The next name is Asarludug, which his father Anu gave him,

"He is the light of the gods, the mighty champion,
Who as consoling and protecting genius of the gods and the land,
In mighty combat saved our dwelling-place in time of distress."

And secondly the six hundred gods named Asarludug the god Namtilaku, "Life,"

"Who restored the destroyed gods to be even as his own creation.
The lord, who by his holy incantation gave life to the dying gods."

And thirdly they called Asarludug the god Namru, "The bright one," "who brightens our way." The epic closes with the gods sitting in the hall of assembly at Babylon, singing and praising the names of Marduk.

In a late period the scribes added a seventh book to the epic commenting upon the fifty names of Marduk, and other grammatical commentaries explaining the elements in these Sumerian titles have been found. These comments are idle Midrashim attached to the great creative work of their predecessors and do not afford much information concerning the meaning of the epic. This book has an epilogue stating that these fifty names

had been handed down to men by the ancients, that father must teach them to son and never be forgotten.

An account of Marduk's creation of the world has been preserved as an introduction to a ritual of lustration for the building of a temple.[40] This version begins by stating in the first eleven lines that there was a time when the temples of the gods were not yet built, reeds and trees grew not, and brick-making had not been discovered, cities and houses were not built, nor animals created. Nippur, Erech, Eridu, and the Apsû had not been built nor "the holy temple, temple of the gods," referring to Esagila, at Babylon. Then all the lands were sea (Tamtu-Tehōm).

11. "When the interior of the sea was a well,
Then Eridu was created and Esagila built.
Esagila, which in the Apsû Lugaldukug founded.
14. Babylon was created and Esagila completed."

According to this version Marduk, here called Lugaldukug, "Lord of the holy chamber," founded Esagila "in the midst" of the Deep, or on the bosom of the nether sea, and the Anunnaki worked upon it together, and named it by a far-famed name, "The holy city, abode of their happiness." The dependence of this legend upon the text of the sixth book of the Epic of Creation is obvious. But now the legend has a new account of creation.

17. "Marduk constructed a reed mat-work on the face of the waters.
He created dust and poured it out upon the reed mat-work.
To cause the gods to dwell in 'the abode of their happiness,'
20. He created man.
Aruru created the seed of man with him.
He created the cattle, creatures with the breath of life on the plain.
He created the Tigris and the Euphrates and set them in their places."

The text then describes the creation of grass, grain-bearing plants, the marshes, reeds, the forest, and green verdure.

Lands, marshes, and reed thickets, cows and calves, bulls, ewes, and lambs, the sheep of the folds, gardens and forests, tame and wild goats . . . for him. By the border of the sea Marduk raised a terrace, and brought forth the reed thickets and dry land. He then created reeds and trees, instituted brick-making, built cities, founded Nippur, Erech, and Eridu. Here the text is broken away.

Another account of creation in Sumerian, preserved in a late Assyrian copy with Accadian translation, is concerned exclusively with the creation of man and the divine injunctions placed upon him to direct his life.[41] The poem has a subscription which says that its contents are a mystery to be read by the wise only, and it was copied by the king's scribe. It begins with a brief account of the condition of the world before the creation of man. In Heaven and Earth " faithful twins " had been all brought into being, and the Mother-goddesses had been made to thrive. The " twins " are probably the Igigi and Anunnaki, or all the gods of Heaven and Earth and the lower world. The Mother-goddesses refer to Ashnan and Lahar, patronesses of grain and flocks, whose creation was described in another famous Sumerian poem.[42] Earth had been created for habitation, the principles and forms of Heaven and Earth had been fixed. The gods had determined the courses of the Tigris and Euphrates to regulate the irrigation of the land. Then Anu, Enlil, Shamash, and Enki, together with all the great gods, assembled in their great sanctuary and said: " What shall we do now? What shall we create? " And two of them replied to Enlil:

24. " In Uzumā, rope of Heaven and Earth,
Let us slay two gods the craftsmen;
From their blood let us create man.
27. The tribute to the gods shall be their tribute."

The poem then states at great length the purpose for which the gods created man. It was to establish for ever " the boundary," by which the text apparently means the territorial limits of the

sacred land Sumer. It was that spade and trencher-basket be put into their hands, and that they build the temple of the gods. Their mission shall be to delimit field against field, for ever, to increase the number of temples and serve in the divine rituals. They are, alas, created to enrich the field of the Anunnaki (in the lower world). They shall fill granaries and produce abundance in the land. They shall keep the religious festivals and sing the litanies in which the names of the temples are given. They shall praise Enlil and his wife and Aruru, queen of the gods. Man shall have power to make his own plans, "the skilled for the skilled, the fool for the fool." This is one of the rare passages in which free will is even mentioned or recognized in cuneiform literature. Man is like corn springing from the ground. Only the stars change not eternally; they determine day and night and indicate the times of the festivals exactly. The poem closes with these lines: "Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ninmah (Aruru) created a place for man. The Grain-goddess was established in that place."

The emphasis placed upon grain and flocks in the Sumerian myths of creation is in sharp contrast to all the known Babylonian sources. Hebrew mythology has an older record of the creation beginning after the manner of the Babylonian version which served as an introduction to a ritual for founding a temple.[43] Here also the narrative begins by describing a time when plants and herbs of the field existed not, and the earth was parched; for Yāw had not sent rain to moisten the ground. This source also follows the same order in placing the creation of man before the creation of plants and animals. The Babylonian text makes special mention of the Tigris and Euphrates, and so does the old Hebrew account. But the legend of the Garden of Eden and its four rivers in the Hebrew legend does not occur in any Sumerian or Babylonian work on the creation. In Chapter V a possible Sumerian source for this story has been discussed, but it contains no reference to the Tigris and Euphrates. The introduction of the rivers Pison

and Gihon in the Hebrew source cannot be explained by any known version of the creation myth.

The Babylonian Epic of Creation is based upon a solar myth, and intimately connected with the triumph of the vernal sun and the spring equinox. At that time the Babylonians held a great festival including mystery plays based upon the events described in the epic.[44] The series of Tablets which contained the directions for the rituals of the New Year's festival at Babylon, which lasted from the first to the eleventh of Nisan, are not well preserved. Only those Tablets having the rituals for the second, third, fourth, and fifth days are preserved. On the second day, before sunrise, the high priest rose and bathed, drew aside the veil before Bêl, and entered the sanctuary of Bêl. Here he recited the following hymn.

"Bêl, who in his wrath had no rival,
Bêl, beneficent king, Bêl of the lands,
Who restored peace unto the great gods,
Bêl, who cast down the mighty ones by his glance,
O Bêl of kings, light of men, assigner of portions,
O Bêl, thine abode is Babylon, Barsippa is thy crown.
The vast Heavens are the totality of thy mind.
Bêl, with thine eyes thou beholdest all things.
Thou controllest laws by thy laws.
Thou givest decrees by thy glance.
Thou burnest up the mighty ones by thy flame(?).
Thou bindest thy . . . with thy hands.
When thou lookest (upon them) thou hast mercy upon them.
Thou causest them to see the light; they rehearse thy valour."

These lines obviously refer to episodes of the Epic of Creation; the binding of the dragons and the assigning of functions to the gods are taken directly from it. But the hymn speaks also of Marduk's having cast the dragons into fire and then to have had mercy upon them. There was also a tradition, which will appear in the mystery ceremonies, of Kingu's having been cast into fire. As to Marduk's having had mercy upon the bound gods and having caused them to see the light, the only probable

explanation is that they were given places among the stars. Every one of the nine dragons in the epic, and two, Zû and Asakku, which do not appear there, were identified with constellations.

The high priest opened the doors of the chapel and admitted certain orders of priests and psalmists. There follows a ceremony in which a seal and the crown of Anu are mentioned. The seal probably refers to a talisman worn by Marduk on his neck when he attacked Tiamat, as did Tishpak when he slew the Labbu. Again the priest sang a hymn referring to the battle of Marduk with the wicked and powerful ones.

Early on the third day the high priest rose, bathed, and recited a prayer to Bêl alone in his chapel. This prayer is entirely lost. He opened the doors for priests and psalmists, who performed the customary (daily) services. Three hours after sunrise a metal-worker made two statues for the ceremony of the sixth day. Each statue was seven fingers high; one held in his left hand a serpent made of cedar, and his right hand was lifted in prayer to Nabu; the other held a scorpion in his left hand and also lifted his right hand to Nabu. They were clothed in red garments and their loins were bound with date palms. They remained in the temple of the god Sakut (Ninurta) until the sixth day. On that day a swordsman severed their heads and burnt them before Nabu. These were emblems of the serpent-dragon Mušhuššû and the Scorpion-man, two of the monsters originally subdued by Ninurta. The ceremony again discloses a trace of a lost myth in which the dragons were cast into fire.

On the fourth day, three hours before sunrise the high priest rose, bathed in the Euphrates, pulled aside the curtain from before Bêl and Beltis, and recited a prayer to each divinity (Marduk and Zarpanit). These are prayers of praise and petitions for mercy upon the people of Babylon. The priest then came out of the chapel and, facing north, recited the hymn of the Canal Star, heavenly prototype of Esagila. He then ad-

mitted the priests and psalmists to the chapel to perform the customary (daily) services. After evening sacrifice he recited the whole of the Epic of Creation, during which the crown of Anu and the throne of Enlil were veiled. The veiling of these deities was in memory of their flight before Tiamat. The defeat of Anu is told in the epic; the story of Enlil's defeat is taken from a lost myth.

Four hours before sunrise on the fifth day the high priest rose, bathed in water of the Tigris and Euphrates, drew aside the curtain (*gadalû*) from before Bêl, and recited a hymn to Bêl and one to Beltis, in Sumerian. Both hymns are of an astral character, and it is curious that the day on which they were sung (fifth), should correspond to the astral character of the fifth book of the Epic of Creation. In the hymn to Marduk the constellations Boötes and Eridanus, and the planets Jupiter (Marduk), Mercury (Nabu), Saturn (Ninurta), are addressed. Mars, usually planet of Ninurta, is addressed as the Fire-god Gibil. Sirius "measures the waters of the Tamtu," that is here the Milky Way. Addresses to Arcturus, Regulus(?), Grus (Adad), the breast of Scorpio "who treads the bosom of Tamtu," to the sun and moon, close the astral hymn to Marduk.

The hymn to Marduk's wife Beltis also contains addresses to constellations and stars; Venus, the Bow Star (Canis Major), the planet and constellation of Ishtar; the Goat Star (Lyra), also identified with Ishtar; the Star of Abundance (Coma Berenices), identified with the goddess NE-zil-la; the star of venery (Corona Borealis), identified with the goddess Nanâ; the Wagon Star (Ursa Major), identified with Ninlil; the hymn ends with addresses to the constellations of Zarbanit (Virgo) and Ninmah. The priests and psalmists now enter to sing the liturgies for that day.

Two hours after sunrise the morning sacrifices for Bêl and Beltis are finished and a priest of incantation purifies the temple with water from the Tigris and Euphrates. The kettle-drum

is sounded, torch and censer brought into the court, but the magician must not enter the chapel of Bêl and Beltis. He then enters the chapel of Nabu and purifies it with censer, torch, and holy water, and sprinkles it with Tigris and Euphrates water. He places a silver censer in the court, calls a sword bearer, who slays a sheep and atones the chapel of Nabu with the sheep's body. After reciting incantations for the purification of this chapel, the magician must remove the sheep's body, go to the river, and, looking westward, cast it into the river. This was in preparation for Nabu's arrival from Barsippa to take part in the New Year's festival. The high priest was forbidden to see any part of this magic ritual; the magician and sword bearer must both leave the city and remain in the fields until the twelfth day, when the festival was finished.

At three and a third hours after sunrise the high priest came out of Marduk's chapel and summoned the craftsmen, who removed the golden canopy of Marduk from the treasury and veiled the chapel of Nabu. This chapel represented the dark season of the year when the Sun-god's time was mostly spent in the lower world. After a hymn on the cleansing of the temple has been sung the high priest re-enters Marduk's chapel, prepares a table of offerings and recites a prayer, and prays that he will be gracious to him "that takes thy hand." The priest is here preparing to take the hands of Bêl and conduct him to the Akîtu, or house of the New Year's festival outside the city. The craftsmen then carry the table to Nabu's chapel, who arrives presently in his ship Iddahedu.

Now the king of Babylon arrives with Nabu's statue, washes his hands, and comes before Bêl himself, where the high priest takes from him his sceptre, his circle and scimetar, insignia of royal power. These are taken into the chapel and placed before Bêl. By him had they been given, and to him they are returned. For the moment the king is a commoner, and the high priest, representative of the most high god, smote the cheeks of the king, led him before Bêl, pulled the king's ears,

and made him kneel before the statue of Marduk-Bêl. The king then recited this prayer:

"Not have I sinned, O lord of the lands, not have I been negligent unto thy divinity.
Babylon have I not ruined, nor commanded its dispersion.
Not have I . . . Esagila, nor forgotten its rites.
Not have I smitten the cheeks of (my) subjects,
. . . nor caused their humiliation.
I have paid attention to Babylon, and not destroyed its walls."

The high priest replied to the king for Bêl and said "fear not"; for Bêl would hear his prayer, magnify his kingdom, and destroy his foes. Having thus rendered account of his stewardship to Bêl, the king received back the insignia of his office. The religious law of the state presumed that the high priest had the sacred right to withhold the crown from any king who had abused his office, but there are no inscriptions to confirm the statement that he was ever forced to abdicate for that reason. The high priest, however, smote the king's cheek again, and if the king wept he knew that Bêl was pleased with him. If he wept not he knew that Bêl was displeased with the king and that foes would come to cause his downfall.

Soon after sunset on the fifth day the high priest made a bundle of forty reeds each three cubits long, dug a trench in the temple-court and placed the bundle of reeds therein. Honey, cream, and oil were poured upon it and a white bull was brought to the trench. The reed bundle was set on fire. Presumably the bull was sacrificed. In any case the bull represents the Gudanna or "bull of Heaven," Taurus of the Zodiac, and proves that this festival originated in the period when the sun stood in Taurus at the spring equinox, that is in the period *circa* 3500–1900 B.C. It is unlikely that the ceremony has any reference to the slaying of the bull of Heaven by Gilgamish and Enkidu. The king and [the high priest?] then chanted a hymn to the "divine bull," and here the texts cease. The rituals for the sixth to the eleventh days have not been recov-

ered, but it is known that the procession of all the gods, led by Bêl, to the house of the New Year's sacrifices outside the city, occurred on the tenth day. The great assembly of gods in the hall of Esagila to declare fates for the ensuing year fell on the eighth of Nisan. On the eleventh the procession returned to Esagila.[45]

Each act in the ceremony of the New Year's festival had a mystic meaning, and a Tablet of the series in which these meanings were explained has been recovered. Undoubtedly the whole ritual was explained in this way, but as only small parts of both ritual and commentary have been found and they do not coincide, the fragment of the commentary must be studied separately. It begins with a reference to a trench over which a priest performed a ceremony. Apparently something was thrown into the trench, which meant the . . . which [Ninurta] cast into the Deep (*apsû*) and entrusted to the Anunnaki. The text also refers to a fire that was made, which symbolized some valiant deed of Marduk in his infancy. Then the hurling of firebrands is referred to, and they who hurled them represented the gods, his fathers and brothers, when they heard of [his birth?]. The gods kissed something, which meant Marduk as the Mother-goddess Ninlil lifted and kissed him in his infancy. A fire was kindled beneath an oven and a sheep placed on it; this meant Kingu, husband of Tiamat, whom Marduk burned. They lit firebrands at the oven, and these meant the merciless arrows from the quiver of Bêl, which, as they were shot, carried terror and smote the mighty one, with blood and gore were they stained, sprinkling the mountains (with blood). The mountains meant the gods, his fathers and brothers, who bound in their midst the wicked Zû and Asakku.

In the ceremony the king lifted a weapon above his head and burned a she-goat; that meant Marduk who lifted weapons above his head and consumed in fire the sons of Enlil and Anu. Here again the myth of the casting of the dragons into fire ap-

pears in the ceremony, but not in the epic. The sons of Enlil and Anu refer to some unknown myth. One text refers to seven Asakku dragons, sons of Anu, who were conquered by Ninurta. The king shattered a vessel, which meant that Marduk bound Tiamat(?). The king tossed the roasted bread of the priest, which symbolized how Marduk and Nabu [seized?] the hand(?) of . . . and Anu bound and broke him. The king took his place at a certain station in the ritual and something was put into his hand as a psalmist sang a hymn, "Goddess the Radiant"; this meant Marduk's feet were set in Ea and the planet Venus before him tarried.[46] This part of the ritual describes some constellation of Marduk, whose feet stood in some constellation of Ea, and Venus stood in it. The king tossed something which meant the heart of Anu when he took his way, referring perhaps to the episode in the epic where Anshar sent Anu against Tiamat and he fled.

In the ritual a cavalryman, who [carries] a sweet fig and holds a . . . in his hand, and who brings it in to the god, shewing the fig to the god and king, meant him whom they sent to Enlil, whom they bound and whose hand Nergal took. Here the ceremony refers to some myth in which Ninurta(?) bound a dragon and sent him to his father Enlil, by whom he was handed over to the god of the underworld. Someone entered Esagila, and shewed the weapons in his hands to Marduk and Zarbanit; they kissed him, and blessed him. The meaning of this act is not explained. Eunuchs shouted, made clamour in the plain, hurling firebrands, emitting loud cries, lifted each other up, and acted distractedly; these symbolized those who against Enlil and Anu made uproar, and poured out their terror upon them, but whose . . . they (the gods) severed and [cast] into the Apsû. Only half of this Tablet is preserved and nothing can be gleaned from the few remaining signs concerning episodes of the myths enacted in pantomime in the New Year's festival.

On the eleventh day when Marduk returned to Esagila the hymn, "Oh lord, when thou enterest thy temple, may thy temple say to thee 'Rest,'" was sung. The prayer appeals to the cities, temples, and the gods to say to Marduk, "Rest, O lord." The New Year's festival in Assyria was only a replica of the same series of pantomimes at Babylon; but in Assyria the name of the god Ashur displaced the name Marduk. The Epic of Creation and the Zagmuk, or New Year's festival, are based upon a solar myth. Marduk the Sun-god returned from his long sojourn in the lower world, triumphed over darkness, and brought light to the world. On this myth the priesthood at Babylon based a new pantomime, which portrayed the death and resurrection of Bêl, drawn, by analogy, from the myth of the annual death and resurrection of Tammuz, god of vegetation. The descent of Marduk to the lower world must have been familiar in Babylonian religion; it is mentioned in the Ira myth where Marduk set his face to the land where none go, the home of the Anunnaki.[47] The myth of the death and resurrection of Bêl is preserved only in the commentaries on the meanings of each act in the ceremony, and consequently its contents must be reconstructed from this framework; the following analysis does not provide a very clear narrative of the legend if a text of it really existed.[48] The principal commentaries available are all in the ceremony at Ashur, but a few fragments from the original Marduk pantomime at Babylon have been recovered, in copies from Nineveh. In West Semitic religion traces of the same legend are found at Tyre, where there was a tomb of Melqart; [49] at Aphaca near Gebal there was a tomb of Adonis, called also Bêl (*βόλος*) by Hesychius, and another on the river Belus near Akko, called the memorial of Memnon. No rituals representing the death, burial in a tomb, and the resurrection from the tomb have been found on West Semitic soil similar to the vivid enactment of each event in this ceremony concerning Bêl-Marduk at Babylon. That the myth and ritual were well known throughout Syria, Phoe-

nicia, and Palestine, at least in certain mystic and Gnostic cults, is certain.

Strabo mentions the tomb of Bêl as one of the striking features of Babylon, and Xerxes dug into it and found a glass coffin and corpse laid in oil. Alexander was commanded by his seers to rebuild this tomb. These legends reveal the fact that in the Greek period the stage tower of Babylon was taken for the tomb of Bêl, which only emphasizes the influence of the legend and ceremony under discussion. The texts as preserved begin with some act interpreted to mean that Bêl was imprisoned in the lower world, and a messenger hastens saying: "Who shall bring him forth?" Nabu(?) comes from Barsippa to seek after his father (Marduk) who is bound. Men ran in the streets saying: "Where is he held?" and Marduk's wife prayed to the Moon-god saying: "Give life to Bêl." She comes to the gate of the tomb seeking him, and she finds there "twins," probably angels guarding the tomb. Certain celebrants make wailing; for the gods had bound him and he perished from among the living. They had caused him to descend to the house of bondage. Reference is made to the wounds of Bêl and his blood. A goddess(?) descends to seek for him.

There is then an obscure reference to a son of the god Ashur, i.e., Nabu son of Marduk, who went not with him saying: "I am not a sinner, and I shall not be wounded; for the . . . of Ashur (Marduk) have revealed my judgments and declared my judgments." Nabu, son of the slain Bêl, here refers to the sinner who had been condemned to die with Bêl. Now this son of Bêl becomes the guard over his "city prison," that is in the lower world. This has surely a connection with the theory that Nabu represents the sun during the period of the year, when the nights are longer than the days. The head of a sheep(?) is tied to the door of the temple of Beltis, which symbolized the head of a sinner whom they slew with Bêl.

In the ceremony Nabu returned to Barsippa, [after] Bêl went to the lower world; the city then fell into tumult and there

was fighting therein. Reed pigsties were placed in the way of Nabu as he came from Barsippa to adore Bêl; he stood over Bêl, looking at him; that symbolized the malefactor who is with Bêl. The part played by Nabu is extremely obscure, but he is clearly described as one who has some connection with the slain sinner. Priests of incantation walked before Nabu, reciting an incantation; they symbolized Bêl's people who wail before him. A magus went before Beltis; he stood for the messenger who wept before her and brought her the sad news of Bêl's descent to the lower world, saying: " they have carried him to the mountain (lower world)," and she descended, saying: " Oh my brother, my brother. . . ." The magus brought garments to the Beltis of Erech, which symbolized the raiment taken from Bêl. The inclusion of Beltis of Erech or Ishtar in this pantomime proves that it is really based upon the older cult of Tammuz and Ishtar. There is then a ceremony with a garment (*šerîtu*) with which the dead Bêl seems to have been clothed, and milk with which Ishtar of Nineveh fed Marduk in his infancy. Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, is said to have been nourished by the goddess queen of Nineveh, at whose breasts he was suckled. The Epic of Creation, narrating the mighty deeds of the dead Bêl, was then sung, and the high priest wailed saying: " What was his *sin?* " Marduk from his tomb prayed to Sin and Shamash for life, represented in the pantomime by someone looking to Heaven and praying.

Bêl's ascent from the lower world is now symbolized by some person, and one text speaks of his ascent from the house of bondage, whither he had been sent by judgments imposed upon him. There is further reference to mad racing in the cities in the month Nisan, and Bêl's clothing and sandals, which had been brought to the temple of his wife Beltis of Babylon. The acts of the ceremony, as set down and explained in the commentary, do not follow in logical order; for after Bêl's resurrection the text mentions his chariot which speeds to the house of the New Year's festival without its master. The

celebrants broke into Bêl's tomb and struggled before it. The celebration of the death and resurrection of Bêl cannot be described with any approach to accuracy owing to the fragmentary sources, but some of the salient facts can be obtained from them. It is clear that he was condemned, slain with a malefactor, imprisoned in a tomb, descended to the lower world, and rose again. This is one of those inexplicable and illogical consequences of the occult religious mind of Babylonia. Bêl, the victorious god, conqueror of the powers of Chaos, creator of the world, was tried, condemned, and sent to the lower world by the gods, his fathers and brothers, whom he had delivered. It can be explained only by the uncontrollable tendency of the Babylonian priesthood to place upon Marduk the *rôles* of all the principal gods. The cult of the dying god Tammuz had been throughout the long history of Sumer, Accad, and Babylonia the one which held the greatest attraction for all men. Not in war nor in the valour even of the triumphant Marduk did men really place their trust and their hope, but in the sufferings of the martyr Tammuz, ever victorious over death, ever restoring a perishing world. The mild and patient Tammuz was greater than the god of fire and sword, though he had created the Heavens with his hands and founded the Earth upon the bosom of the Deep. All these things the speculative priests of Babylon knew, and they were zealous for their god. He must also become Tammuz the martyr, victorious over death, and so they thought to secure for him the adoration and love of humanity hitherto bestowed upon the dying god.

CHAPTER X

THE DESCENT OF ISHTAR TO ARALLÛ

ISHTAR, Accadian rendering of the Sumerian Innini, was commonly regarded as the sister of the dying god Tammuz. The myth of Tammuz, his annual descent to Arallû or the lower world, the descent of his sister Innini to recover the lost god, and his resurrection, gave rise to the most important cult of Sumero-Babylonian religion. The myth of Innini's descent to Arallû forms a separate series of poems in Sumerian and Accadian texts and is rarely referred to in the numerous liturgies and songs of the wailings for Tammuz. Of the older Sumerian poems which describe her descent to Arallû extensive fragments have now been recovered.[1] So far as the sequence of events in the narrative can be given from published material the Sumerian legend was as follows.

The legend begins apparently with an appeal to Innini to descend to the lower world (*kur-ra ba-e-ed*); for in Erech, Nippur, Kish, and Agade, " lordship has fallen." This refers to the death of Tammuz, who had disappeared from among men. The death of the god of vegetation involves the temporary suspension of " lordship " on earth, a belief based upon the identification of kings with the dying god in the period in which this myth was written. The deification of kings and worship of them during their reigns were characteristic of Sumerian religion in the time of the last dynasty of Ur and the succeeding dynasties of Isin and Ellasar. When the " god-kings " died they, like Tammuz, perished; for in life they were husbands of Ishtar, as was also Tammuz. A hymn speaks of the dead kings of Isin in a Tammuz liturgy as follows:

"The lord Idin-Dagan sleeps,
And the gardens of themselves restrain (their growth).
The city (weeps) for Ishme-Dagan, who slumbers,
And the gardens of themselves withhold (their fruit).
The city (weeps) for Lipit-Ishtar, who sleeps.
The city (weeps) for Ur-Ninurta, who sleeps.
The city (weeps) for Bur-Sin, who sleeps.
The sturdy youth is in the land of weeping." [2]

The implicit belief in the divine nature of kings did not cease in Babylonia and Assyria with the disappearance of the Sumerian cults based upon the worship of deified kings, living or dead. They continued to connect them with Tammuz, and believed that the fertility of the lands was intimately connected with the life of their rulers divinely appointed by the gods.

And so Innini put on her garment *shugurra*, and placed her lofty crown upon her head. She put the "beauty of her figure" upon herself, a description of one of her garments. She adorned herself with ornaments of lapis lazuli and put on a necklace of great lapis lazuli stones. She covered her breast with *erimmati* jewels, and wore golden rings on her fingers. A band of birth stones she girded on her loins.

"O Innini, to the lower world go,"

they said, and her messenger Gashansubur stood before her, to whom she said:

"O my faithful one, my faithful one,
My messenger of good words,
My herald of true words,
When to the lower world I descend,
To the . . . of the lower world go thou. . . ."

The continuation of the narrative is contained in an unpublished text; when the accessible material can be again followed Innini seems to be reporting to the god Amanki, the Water-god Enki of the "good city," Eridu, that "thy son dwells with those in the lower world, thy pious holy one sleeps in the dust

of the lower world . . . he lies prostrate in the abode of the queen of Hell." According to the author of these texts Innini is the daughter of the Water-god, and she continues:

" O father Amanki, wise lord . . .
The plant of life thou knowest, the water of life thou knowest.
This one restore to life for me."
" Innini to the lower world went.
To her messenger Gashansubur she called:
' Go, O Gashansubur.
This one I will make *known* to thee, he is named *guzula.*' [3]
Innini to the splendid palace of the underworld drew nigh.
The door of the Underworld harshly she . . .
The palace of the Lower world harshly she . . .
' Open the house, O watchman, open the house.
Open the house, O god Neti, open the house that I may enter.'
Neti, the great watchman of the lower world,
To the holy Innini replied:
' Who then art thou? '
' I am the queen where the sun rises.' "

Innini here describes herself as the planet Venus at sunrise, to which the watchman of the gates of Arallû replied:

" If thou art Innini where the sun rises,
Why comest thou? to the lower world [why comest thou?]
On the road where he who journeys returns not. . . ."

Here the unpublished text continued the narrative, which is partially preserved on another text.[4] The watchman reported Innini's arrival to his mistress Ereshkigal, queen of Arallû. She ordered him to open the seven gates through which the dead must pass to enter Hades. At the first gate the watchman removed her crown and Innini cried out, " Why is this? " and received the reply:

" Pass on, O Innini, the decrees of the lower world [are thus ordained].
Innini, the laws of the lower world are so."

At the second gate he removed " the beauty of her figure." Again she cried out, " Why is this? " and received the same

answer. At the third gate he removed the *erimmati* jewels from her neck. At the fourth gate some garment whose name is lost on the tablets was taken from her.[5] At the fifth gate the gold rings were taken from her hands; the text has not preserved the narrative concerning her passing the sixth and seventh gates. Unfortunately the Sumerian tablets so far as published do not contain the section which described Innini's perilous encounter with the queen of Arallû, nor how she was rescued from the land of darkness with her brother Tammuz. A tablet of the same series describes how vegetation thrived again after Innini returned from the lower world.[6] For when she disappeared from among men they had not food to eat nor water to drink.

The Accadian version of this myth is completely preserved and is justly regarded as one of the best mythological poems of Babylonian literature.[7] In the Sumerian version Innini (Ishtar) and Tammuz were regarded as the daughter and son of the Water-god Enki. The Accadian version, however, has the usual astral interpretation, making her the daughter of the Moon-god.

Obverse

"To the land of no return, the [unknown] soil,
Ishtar the daughter of Sin turned her attention.
Yea the daughter of Sin turned her attention . . .
To the house of darkness, abode of the 'Goddess of the Great city' (Allat),
To the house whence they who enter escape not,
To the road whose passing has no return,
To the house where they who enter thirst for light,
Where dust is their nourishment, and their bread is clay,
Light they see not, but sit in darkness.
Like birds they are clothed with 'winged garments.'"

This description of the lower world was taken from the old Sumerian version and is identical with the description of Arallû which Enkidu gave to his friend Gilgamish.[8] The ghosts of the dead are clothed like birds and fly in the shadowy spaces of

Hell. Those which escape from Arallû become demons and are described thus:

> "The bound gods rise from the grave,
> The evil winds rise from the grave." [9]

The demons fly like birds, and wander over the earth until the curses of the magicians drive them again to their restless abode in the lower world. In that land dust lay thick upon door and lock, and silence reigned. When Ishtar arrived at the gate she spoke to the watchman:

14. "O watchman, open thy gate.
Open thy gate, I will enter.
If thou openest not the gate that I enter,
I will break the door and shatter the lock.
I will break the threshold and shatter the doors.
I will cause the dead to arise that they consume the living.
The dead shall be more numerous than the living."

This petulant goddess of love and war made the same threat to Anu in the Epic of Gilgamish, when she demanded vengeance upon Gilgamish for unrequited love. There also she threatened to cause the dead to arise and consume the living if Anu would not create the bull of Heaven.

The watchman, abashed at her arrogance, implored her not to break down the door of the lower world, but wait at the gate until he had reported her words to Ereshkigal. He entered Arallû and said to his mistress:

26. "This is thy sister Ishtar who *stands* at [the gate].
Supporter of the great music halls, troubler of the Deep before Ea [her father]." [10]

When Ereshkigal heard this her face became pale as a tamarisk that is severed. Her lips turned dark as the lip of a pitched wicker wine jar, and she said:

31. "What has her heart planned against me? What has made her soul glad in regard to me?
'This one has said, 'I will drink water with the Annunaki,

I will eat clay as bread, and drink the muddy waters as beer.
I will weep over strong men who have left wives.
35. I will weep over handmaidens who have been snatched from the bosom of their husbands.
I will weep for the feeble infants who were summoned before their time.'
Go, watchman, open thy gate for her.
Do unto her according to thy ancient custom."

And so the watchman did according to the ancient manner by which all souls were admitted to Arallû; he bade her welcome to Cutha (Arallû), "the land of no return shall rejoice for thee." At the first gate he removed her crown, "for such were the laws of the underworld." At the second gate he removed her earrings, at the third her necklace, at the fourth her breast jewels, at the fifth her waist-band studded with birthstones, at the sixth the rings of her hands and feet, at the seventh her "shame garment." Fig. 94, a terra-cotta plaque excavated at Kish, shews one of the many designs of Ishtar. Her crown, decorated with the usual bull's horns characteristic of all divinities, her large pendants hung from her ears, her necklace and upper robe are clearly preserved on this monument. Her right hand holds a long thin metal rod, and in her left hand she presents the caduceus, with two serpent heads, the usual symbol of this deity of life and fertility. Her left leg, bared by the style of her robe, is set upon the back of a lion, symbol of the War-goddess.

Fig. 94. Terra-cotta Bas-relief of Ishtar, Excavated at the Temple Hursagkalama in Kish. Oxford field Museum Expedition

When Ishtar descended to the land of no return Ereshkigal

trembled before her. She summoned her messenger Namtar commanding him to imprison Ishtar in her palace and afflict her with sixty maladies, in all her members. Now Ishtar suffered the torments of the damned and was a prisoner in the house of the queen of Arallû.

"After Ishtar the queen (Beltis) had descended to the lower world,
The bull mounted not the cow, the ass impregnated not the she-ass.
The strong man impregnated not the maid in the highway.
The strong man slept in his chamber.
The maid slept beside him."

Ishtar, patroness of sexual love, had abandoned the earth, and desire to mate had vanished in man and beast.[11] Papsukkal, messenger of the gods, was prostrated with sorrow. He was clothed in a mourner's garment and was afflicted with sores. Shamash wept before Sin his father, and before Ea his tears flowed. He informed Ea how the world had become joyless after Ishtar had descended to the land of no return. Refuge of gods and men in time of trouble, Ea again intervened. He formed an image in his mind and created a person so beautiful that he was named Aṣû-šu-namir, "His coming forth is brilliant," which may refer to his glorious birth or perhaps to his appearance. This person is described as a eunuch. Ea sent him to Ereshkigal that she might be pleased by his appearance; apparently Ea supposed that she would love this eunuch and acquiesce in his request to release Ishtar. The choice of a eunuch was made in accordance with Ishtar's character as patroness of eunuchs who served in her cults. Ea said to Aṣû-šu-namir:

Reverse

15. "May Ereshkigal see thee and rejoice at thy presence.
After her heart becomes calm, her mind happy,
Cause her to swear by the life of the great gods.
Lift up thy head, turn thy attention to the leather *ḫalziqu* vessel (saying),
19. 'Ho, O my lady, let them give me the leather *ḫalziqu* vessel, that I drink water therefrom.'"

Here the text is abbreviated, and passes at once to Ereshkigal's reply to the beautiful eunuch. Ea ever employed incantations and oaths to accomplish his purpose. By the same recourse to magic he overpowered Apsû, husband of Tiamat, in the Epic of Creation. Although Ea's plan secured the release of Ishtar it is difficult to understand the reason for his success. Ereshkigal, upon hearing the eunuch's request, smote her thigh and bit her finger, saying:

22. "Thou hast presented a request not permissible.
Go, O Aṣušu-namir, I curse thee with a great curse.[12]
Bread of the 'plough' of the city shall be thy bread.
25. The *ḫabnutu* vessels of the city shall be thy drinking-place.
The shadow of the wall shall be thy station.
The thresholds shall be thy abode.
28. The drunkard and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek."

Why the eunuch's request for the *ḫalziqu* water-jar should have aroused the anger of the queen of Arallû is unexplained. Perhaps there was a myth concerning its having contained the water of life. The plant of life and the water of life are twice mentioned in the Sumerian version of Innini's descent to Arallû, and there may have been a legend that the blessed among those who died ate and drank of these elements in the land of the lord and queen of the lower world. Apparently the eunuch became the substitute for Ishtar, a vicarious sacrifice for that goddess, for whom he had made the supreme sacrifice of his manhood on earth. It is not clear, however, that the eunuch was retained in Arallû. Ereshkigal then directed her messenger Namtar to knock at the palace of the Annunaki, the Ekalgina or Diligina, and stamp on its thresholds of coral.

33. "Cause the Annunaki to ascend, cause them to sit on a (*sic!*) golden throne."

According to this passage the Annunaki, that is Ea and the pantheon of deities who dwell in the nether sea of fresh water, have their abode below Arallû, or the land of the dead. She also

commanded Namtar to wash Ishtar with "water of life" and bring her forth. The Annunaki were brought up and placed on a (*sic!*) golden throne, Ishtar he washed and brought before her. Namtar is then ordered to conduct Ishtar to the upper world by the seven gates.

"Go, Namtar, *conduct* Ishtar.
If she give thee not her ransom (money) bring her back.
Cast upon her the fate of the *dead*."

Namtar caused her to ascend by the seven gates, restoring to her at each gate the garment taken from her by the watchman.

The Accadian texts are in great confusion here and the Sumerian version for the remainder of the legend is illegible.[13] In any case Tammuz still remained in Arallû. Ereshkigal instructed her messenger Namtar:

47. "Tammuz the husband of her youth
Wash with clean water, anoint with fine oil.
With a dazzling garment clothe him, let him play the flute of lapis lazuli.
50. May the harlots appease his soul."

The narrative then passes to the wailing of Ishtar for her brother Tammuz. Here she has the title Belili. When she returned to earth she had assembled her treasures, and her bag was full of "eye stones," the name of some precious stone. She heard the wailing of her brother and smote her treasures that the jewels filled her sanctuary, as she wailed:

"O my only brother, distress me not,
When Tammuz arises to me,
When with him arise the flute of lapis lazuli and the ring of carnelian,
When with him arise the men and women wailers,
May the dead arise and smell the incense."

This poem seems to have been recited as an incantation to recall the souls of the dead to the *parentalia*. The living perpetually kept solemn feasts for the souls of their ancestors, and their ghosts were supposed to return from Arallû to partake of

them. The resurrection of Tammuz is, of course, assumed by the poet, but how his sister's descent to Arallû had any effective part in his rescue from death is not made clear by this poem. There was also a feast of "all souls" for the dead.[14] Ereshkigal is the Persephone of Greek mythology and Ishtar the Aphrodite. The rôle which each plays in the myth of a dying god is the same in Babylonia and Greece. Tammuz, the beautiful youth loved by his sister Ishtar, who is also described as the sister of Ereshkigal, became the Adonî, "my lord," of West Semitic mythology. Transferred to Greek soil as Adonis, the young god who died and rose again each year became the subject of a myth obviously borrowed from this Sumero-Babylonian legend, which can be traced at least to the twenty-third century B.C. Aphrodite hid Adonis, when a babe, in a chest and gave him in charge of Persephone, queen of the lower world. But Persephone became so enamoured with his beauty that she refused to return him to Aphrodite. The goddesses disputed over him before Zeus, who decreed that he must remain with Persephone for half of each year, and with Aphrodite for the other half.

CHAPTER XI

TAMMUZ AND ISHTAR

IN Sumerian literature the cult of the dying god Tammuz and his sister Innini, or Accadian Ishtar, occupies such an important position that it may be regarded as the principal aspect of their mythology and religious beliefs. This god is consistently described as a beautiful youth and the name Tammuz has been handed down to posterity because it is the one employed in the West Semitic cults borrowed from Babylonia and Assyria. Ezekiel, writing in the early part of the sixth century B.C., says that the Tammuz wailings had been introduced into the Temple at Jerusalem in his day. There he saw women wailing for Tammuz in the north court.[1] Wailing women mourned for the departed Tammuz or Adonî, as the Phoenicians named him, in the cults of Babylonia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Canaan. The form Tammuz has become familiar from the spelling of the Hebrew text of Ezekiel, but in Syria the name was pronounced Tamūz, or Thamūz. At Harran in Syria the Arabic sect known as the Ssabeans maintained the worship of this god as late as the tenth century A.D., where the name was pronounced Tamūz and Ta-ūz. The festival of Ta-ūz was also known there as the festival of the weeping women and occurred on the first of the month Tammuz. The women of this Harranian cult wept for Tammuz whom a king had slain, ground his bones, and scattered them to the winds. Hence during this festival the women ate nothing which had been ground in a mill. In the mythology of this cult Tammuz was said to have perished several times and to have returned to life each time for his final annihilation at the hands of the king. The Harranian Tammuz cult existed also at Babylon as late

as the tenth century where the gods of the whole earth are said to have held a feast of wailing in the temple Askul. Askul is a corrupt survival of the name of Marduk's temple Esagila, and the legend concerning the assembly of gods is obviously based upon one of the principal features of the Babylonian New Year's festival, when the gods of all Babylonia assembled at Esagila to decree fates for the ensuing year. The survival of a cult, in which the gods bewailed Tammuz in Esagila, proves that this Harranian sect had kept alive the myth of the Death and Resurrection of Marduk, which was, in fact, only a transformation of the old Sumerian Tammuz myth.

Tammuz, therefore, survived for centuries in West Semitic religion as a god of corn and vegetation, who died, and whose death was attributed to a king in this pagan cult of Syria. In the myth of the death of Bêl-Marduk there are repeated references to Bêl's having met a violent death.[2] In the Sumero-Babylonian liturgies there are no clear references to the death of the young shepherd of the flocks and corn at the hands of a king, or of another god, rival for the love of his beautiful sister Ishtar. These texts refer frequently to the *gallû* and other demons who seized Tammuz; one of them is called his slayer.[3] The Sumerian myth, therefore, attributed the death of the beautiful youth loved by Ishtar to the seven demons of the lower world.[4]

Whatever may have been the origin of the myth among the Harranians that Tammuz was slain by a king, it is not certain that a legend of this kind existed in the Sumerian texts. The Harranians said that Tammuz summoned a king to worship the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac, and for that reason the king slew him, but he returned to life. The king repeatedly slew him, but each time he returned until he was finally annihilated by grinding his bones in a mill. A similar myth is told of the Christian martyr Saint George, born at Lydda, modern Ludd in Palestine, 270 A.D. He was said to have been an officer in the Roman army and a Christian. When

Diocletian persecuted the Christians this officer defied his emperor, resigned from the army, and suffered martyrdom, at Nicomedia in Bithynia, the summer residence of Diocletian, in the year of the persecution, 303 A.D.[5] He was said to have summoned his king to turn to Christ, and for this reason the king slew him. But he returned to life; the king repeatedly slew him, but like Tammuz he returned to life each time until he was finally slain and buried at Lydda. The legend of St. George was particularly famous in Armenia, where it gave a name to the province Georgia. It was even more famous among Islamic writers than among Christians in the Middle Ages, and one of the Arabic writers who described the Tammuz cult of the Harranians actually compares the legends of Tammuz and Saint George.[6]

According to another Arabic writer [7] the legend of St. George was transferred to the Tigris Valley. The king who slew him lived at Mauṣil (Mossul). He is reported to have burned St. George and to have scattered the ashes in the Tigris. The most marvellous account of Djirdjîs, as the Arabs called George of Lydda, is related by the Arabic historian Tabari (ninth and tenth centuries A.D.).[8] He places the story of George's persecutions at the hands of Dâdyâne (Diocletian) at Mossul and repeats much the same tale with incredible stories of how the Roman emperor endeavoured to destroy him. He was bound to a plank and scraped with iron combs, but he died not. Diocletian confined him in a cauldron of boiling water, but he came out well and sound. He bound him hand and foot and had a marble pillar laid on his back, so heavy that twenty men were required to lift it. An angel came by night and lifted away the pillar. He caused him to be sawn into two parts; each half was cut into seven pieces and thrown to lions. The lions smelled the fourteen pieces and ate not. God assembled the morsels and restored him to life. He was placed in a hollow metal statue and baked for three days. The angel Michael broke the statue and he came out alive. Finally the emperor

drove over his prostrate body in a chariot, whose wheels were fitted with sharp knives. The body was severed in innumerable pieces. They were assembled and burned and the ashes taken to the shore of the sea. A wind gathered the ashes and George again lived. He finally perished in some way at the hands of Diocletian.

Saint George summoned Diocletian to turn to Christianity, and Tammuz summoned a king to worship the stars. The Christian myth, also a favourite one among the Arabians, is obviously based upon the Tammuz legend of the Harranians. An Arabic writer, Wahshijja, says that Tammuz was not a Chaldaean, nor a Canaanite, nor a Hebrew, nor an Assyrian, but a Djanbasien, or Djanbānien. This word seems to have no relation to the word " Shumerian," which is undoubtedly meant in this tradition. The same writer says that when the idols of all the earth assembled before the golden idol of the sun in the temple Askul (Esagila) in Babylon to bewail Tammuz, they also wailed for one Yanbûshâd, who is furthermore described as an ancient wise man.[9] Yanbûshâd is clearly the corruption of some Babylonian name beginning with Nabû. This writer preserves the older form of the name Tammûzî, based upon the Sumerian original Dumu-zi.

Tammuz was consistently identified by early Christian writers with Adōnî of Gebal (Byblos), and the Greek Adonis. In the mythology of that cult there is also a similar legend of the death of the young god. Bar Bahlul, a Syriac lexicographer of the tenth century, says that Tamōzā was a shepherd and hunter, which agrees precisely with the Sumerian legends in which he is constantly described as a shepherd. In Syrian legend this Tamōzā is said to have loved a beautiful woman from Cyprus named Ba'alti, whose husband was Hephaestos. She fled with Tammuz to the Lebanons, whither Hephaestos pursued the fugitives. But Tammuz met Hephaestos and slew him; afterwards Tammuz was slain by a boar. Ba'alti died of love over his body, and her father Heracles founded a feast of mourning

for her in the month Tammuz.[10] An earlier Christian Syriac writer of the third century has the legend after this manner. Ba'alti, queen of Cyprus, was worshipped by the Phoenicians. She fell in love with Tamōzā, son of Kutar, king of the Phoenicians, abandoned her kingdom, and took up her abode at Gebal. She had loved Ares previously; Hephaestos, her husband, had discovered them in intercourse, wherefore he slew Tammuz as he was hunting wild hogs in the Lebanons.[11] In all these legends Tammuz is employed by these Syriac writers for the Phoenician Adonî-Esmun, since this name for the dying god was more familiar to all the West Semitic peoples outside Phoenicia than the local title (Adunî) of Tammuz at Gebal. In fact, a Sumerian title of Tammuz at Gebal is documented as early as the fifteenth century; Rib-Addi, governor of Gebal, in a letter to the king of Egypt, speaks of his god as Da-mu-ya, "My god Damu," an ordinary title of Tammuz in the Sumerian liturgies. Beyond all doubt Adōnî of Gebal, who is first mentioned as Adonis by Strabo in the third century B.C., is only a Phoenician title of the Babylonian Dumuzi, and his entire cult was borrowed from Babylonia at an early period. Although the Phoenician cult of Adonî and his lover, the Mother-goddess Astarte, commonly called Ba'alat of Gebal, developed certain new mythological aspects in Phoenicia, the Syrian descriptions of them as Tamōzā and Ba'altî prove that they are borrowed from Dumuzi and Ishtar, commonly called *bêlti*, "my lady," of Babylonia. The legend that Tammuz was slain by the husband of the goddess is apparently peculiar to the Phoenician cult, but in the case of St. George his death at the hands of a king was an historical fact, which suggested to Christians the tales connected with Tammuz in West Semitic mythology.

It is probable that the West Semitic word *adunî*, *adôni*, "my lord,"[12] was a common title of Tammuz in Assyria and in the Tammuz cults of the Syrian provinces as early as the age of Hammurabi.[13] The title Ba'alti for Ishtar, his sister and lover in the Phoenician cult, leaves no doubt concerning Babylonian

influence upon the Adonis cult. In the Tammuz hymns Ishtar is repeatedly addressed as "my lady" in Sumerian, and as *bêlti*, "my lady," in Accadian texts. *Bêlti*, "my lady," is characteristic of the addresses to Zarbanit, wife of Marduk, and Bêl and Bêlti of Babylon usurped the *rôle* of Tammuz and Ishtar in the late period.[14] Zarbanit is also addressed as *bêlit-ni*, "our lady," the probable origin of the Syriac title of the goddess who loved Tammuz, namely Baltîn.[15] The Babylonian title "our lady," for the sister, wife, and lover of Tammuz and Adonis was, therefore, current among West Semitic peoples in the periods preceding and following the rise of Christianity, and may have been transferred to the Virgin Mary as "Our Lady," Madonna, precisely as Bêl, the κύριος of late Greek writers, may have provided the Greek Christian title Kyrios Christos.[16]

Christian and Arabic writers generally represent Tammuz to have been a human being, who suffered death at the hands of a king. There is direct evidence that Tammuz, always designated as a god in Sumerian, was originally a deified man. This view might be defended by the fact that the earliest historical reference to Tammuz mentions him as the fourth king of the prehistoric dynasty of Erech and predecessor of Gilgamish. Although the name Dumu-zi does not otherwise occur as a personal name, "god-Dumu-zi" is only the name of a deified king, and it is difficult to deny the human origin of this god. Here he is clearly a deified king, and apparently the myth of a young king loved by the beautiful Innini or Ishtar, and who died for the life of the earth, is the original idea which gave rise to this cult. Also in West Semitic religion the kings of cities suffered death at the hands of their people to satisfy the powers of Hades and to ensure the return of life after the season of drought and decay. Of this custom Eusebius writing on Semitic pagan customs says: "It was the custom among the ancients, in times of great calamity, in order to prevent the ruin of all, for the rulers of the city or nation to sacrifice to

the avenging deities the most beloved of their children as an atonement." He then cites the example of Cronus, who was believed to have been first a king and then deified, becoming the Sun-god El of the Phoenicians; he sacrificed his son Anobret when great dangers beset the land.[17]

Now the name Tammuz is derived from *dumu*, "son," and *zi*, which has three principal meanings; it may stand for *zid*, "faithful," "true"; or for *zig*, "to go forth," "to rise up"; and also "breath of life." Tammuz may mean, therefore, "Faithful son," or "Risen son," or "Son of life." The last interpretation is most improbable, for no Accadian phrase *mar napishti*, "son of life," is known. Moreover it is certain that the original name was Dumuzida, and Marduk, in a passage where he is identified with Tammuz, is described in Accadian as the "faithful son." The text, which is a theological commentary, states that there was wailing for the god Dumu-ê-zi, that is, "Son of the temple Ezida," in the month of Tammuz; lamentations in the month Tammuz, wailing for the god Lugaldukug (Marduk),[18] and wailing in the month Tebit for the god Enmesharra. Here the god of flocks and vegetation is bewailed in the fourth month (July) and the Sun-god, Enmesharra, or Nergal, in the tenth month (January). The Sun-god at midwinter resided also in the Underworld. Another (omen) text states that Tammuz departed to the lower world in the month of Tammuz, and Nergal in the month Kislev (December).[19] Since the verb *zid* has also the meaning "to come forth," "to arise," as a variant of the verb *zig*, it is also possible that *dumuzid* means "sun who is risen," referring to the resurrection of Tammuz. A hymn of the midsummer wailings for this god runs as follows:

"She of the dawn, she of the dawn, daily with weeping is surfeited.
Sobbing goes the daughter of Kullab;
'O heavenly psalmist, lord of earth (Ninsubur),
O my holy psalmist, thou of the lapis lazuli sandals(?),
My messenger, who turns my words to good account.[20]

My herald who established my words.
Herald of counsel, man of woe.
O my exalted one, in thy resurrection, in thy resurrection,
O my exalted one, in thy rising to the bosom of the mother that bore (thee),
To the bosom of thy mother, to the bosom of thy beloved rise.
O my exalted one, Who is like Shamash? Thou art like Shamash.
O my exalted one, Who is like Nannar? Thou art like Nannar.' " [21]

Another Sumerian hymn describes the wailing of the mother of Tammuz: [22]

" Because of thee she wanders far for thee.
O man, my Damu, my irrigator thou art.
Thy mother, lady of tears, wearies not.
The mother, queen who gives life to the afflicted, tarries not to repose.
In thy perdition, in thy resurrection, she calls thee with melodious sighing."

To which Tammuz replied:

" In my vast chamber, in my land of misery,
A lord am I, in Aralû, where I am cast away,
A man am I, unto the far-away land I go."

The hymn continues:

" I weary with heart woe, where shall I rest?
O sing to the lyre, I weary with heart woe, where shall I rest? "

On the whole it is probable that Dumuzi(d) meant originally the " faithful " son, and that the myth of a beautiful young god arose in prehistoric times when a king sacrificed his son for the welfare of his people. The calamity which instigated this sacrifice may have been some impending national disaster; in Sumerian religion it was the death of a god who perished annually at midsummer with the withering grass and drying soil of the drought-afflicted Mesopotamian valley. One son of a divinely appointed king had died for man, a perpetual atonement and a sacrifice to the merciless powers of the Underworld; a perpetual atonement in that he returned each year

with the returning rains and spring sun only to die again in the torrid heat, when the flocks longed for water, and Tammuz their shepherd departed again to the mournful sound of the shepherd's lute and the cries of weeping women.

The prehistoric king of Erech who is called the deified Dumuzi has, in the dynastic list, the title "fisherman whose city was Habur." Habur is one of the names of Eridu, city of the Water-god Enki-Ea, and the liturgies of the midsummer wailings repeatedly refer to Tammuz and Innini (Ishtar) as the son and daughter of Ea of Eridu. An Accadian prayer to Tammuz reads as follows:

"O Dumuzi, lord, shepherd of Anu, the brilliant,
Spouse of Ishtar, the queen, first-born son of Nudimmud,
Sturdy one, leader without rival, eater of roasted bread, baked cakes of the ashes,
Clothed with a cowl, bearing a wand, drinking water of a soiled(?) leather pouch.
Builder of homes, lord of the cattle stalls, supreme one, and pre-eminent art thou." [23]

"The first born son" of Nudimmud or Ea was Tammuz, and so also was Marduk. There is reason to suppose that Ninurta, son of Enlil, was also regarded as a dying god and connected with the swine, as was Adonis of Gebal.[24] The earliest known title of Marduk was Asari; a connection between this title and the Egyptian Osiris has long been suggested. Marduk's sudden appearance as Tammuz in the late period [25] is, therefore, based upon the early Sumerian theology of Eridu, where the only son of the Water-god became the deity of irrigation, of flocks and pastures, the final outcome of the cult originating in the worship of the man Dumuzi of Habur. Marduk-Asari and Tammuz were then only diversified names and aspects of the dying god, and if Asari be Osiris it is extremely probable that the Egyptian myth of Osiris and Isis was borrowed from Asari and Ishtar in prehistoric times. In the late hymn cited above, the first line refers to Tammuz as a star or constellation.

But the ancient belief that a king or a king's son had died for man and all living creatures could not be eradicated from this myth even by the immortality conferred upon him by his sacrifice and his annual triumph over death. The kings of Ur and Isin, after their deaths, all became dying gods, and appear in the hymns of the wailings as titles of Tammuz. A long liturgy, from which the following address to his sister, urging her to go to the departed Tammuz, is taken, contains this passage:

"Mayest thou go, thou shalt cause him to rejoice.
O valorous one, star of Heaven, go to greet him.
To cause Ububu to repose, mayest thou go, thou shalt cause him to rejoice.
To cause Umunmu[zida] to repose, etc.
To cause my Damu to repose, etc.
To cause Isirana to repose, etc.
To cause Igisub to repose, etc."

These lines contain five divine titles of Tammuz. Umunmuzida is identical with Ningishzida and only a dialectic form of that more ancient title, "Faithful lord of the tree," which gave rise to an independent deity. Adapa found Tammuz and Ningishzida at the gates of Heaven. Damu, apparently connected with *dumu*, "son," is a very common title of Tammuz, and so is Isir, which here has the suffix (*a*)*na*, "the heavenly." Igisub means "he of the bright eyes." This hymn then continues with the names of the kings of Ur and Isin, each accorded the title of a god:

"To the shepherd Ur-Nammu [26] mayest thou go, thou shalt cause him to rejoice.
To the man Dungi mayest thou go, thou shalt cause him to rejoice.
To the shepherd Bur-Sin, etc.
To the man Gimil-Sin, etc.
To the shepherd Ibi-Sin, etc."

The liturgical formula into which the names of the five kings of Ur are cast, "shepherd" alternating with "man," is begun again when the liturgy reaches the names of the kings of Isin:

"To the shepherd Ishbi-Girra mayest thou go, thou shalt cause him to rejoice.
To the man Gimil-ili-shu, etc.
To the shepherd Idin-Dagan, etc.
To the shepherd Ishme-Dagan, etc.
To the shepherd Bur-Sin, etc.
To the shepherd Idin-Ishtar, etc.[27]
To *these* lords of . . . mayest thou go, thou shalt cause them to repose." [28]

Another liturgy has the following extracts:

"My husband, he who sleeps,
The sturdy youth in the land of weeping,
The youth Umunmuzida, he who sleeps,
In the way of pain, on the road of the chariot,[29]
Isir, the bright-eyed, he who sleeps,
O, in the way of the tomb, weep.
Lord Idin-Dagan sleeps,
The garden of itself restrains (its growth).
The city (weeps) for Ishme-Dagan who slumbers,
And the garden of itself restrains (its growth).
The city (weeps) for Lipit-Ishtar, who sleeps.
The city (weeps) for Ur-Ninurta, who sleeps.
The city (weeps) for Bur-Sin, who sleeps,
The sturdy youth in the land of weeping." [30]

In this passage the names of these kings of Isin have not even the prefix of deity. They are not dead gods but men who were identified with Tammuz. It is entirely clear, therefore, that this great cult of a dying god, which was intensively practised from prehistoric times by the Sumerians, adopted by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Aramaeans, Phoenicians, Canaanites, Hebrews, and Egyptians, is based upon the belief in a martyred saint, who died and rose again, and became a god. There can be no longer any doubt concerning the fact that the god of death and resurrection of the great religions which preceded Christianity was originally a man Dumu-zi, "the faithful son." In the most archaic Sumerian inscriptions this title occurs in the name of a man Ur-dumu-zi, "Servant of Tammuz," without the title of a god.[31]

For this reason Tammuz is addressed in the hymns as the *ilitti bîti*, "offspring of the house," he who descended in the legitimate line of divinely appointed kings. The Gospel according to St. Matthew begins with the "Book of the generation of Jesus Christ," in which his ancestry is recorded and traced to Abraham. In this sense the name given to Dumuzi was probably used. A passage from one of the liturgies sung at the midsummer wailings runs as follows:

"Offspring of the house, my ravished one,
I sit wailing for thee.
O son of the goddess Etuda,[32] I sit wailing for thee.
I sit wailing for thee.
O strong one, god Ububu,[33] I sit wailing for thee.
I sit wailing for thee.
O lord, god Umunmuzida, I sit wailing for thee.
I sit wailing for thee.
O strong one, my god Damu, I sit wailing for thee.
I sit wailing for thee.
O god Isir, god of the shining eyes, I sit wailing for thee.
I sit wailing for thee.
My face with pigment I have beautified.
My . . . with cedar ointment I have beautified.
My back with the garment *dukaddua* I have adorned.
My head with a radiant crown I have adorned.
O thou child, let thy heart repose, thy soul repose." [34]

Here Innini his sister weeps for the departed Tammuz, as the legitimate descendant of royal Sumerian lineage. In the evolution of the myth and cult of Tammuz the human origin of this deity is almost entirely suppressed. He and his sister Innini become the children of the Water-god Enki of Eridu, and one of the longest hymns of the Tammuz liturgies begins:

"O lord, son of the great prince in Heaven and Earth, thou art magnified."

Both of these deities were assigned to the pantheon of the Water-god because in Sumer the life of the earth depended so essentially upon the rivers, their only permanent supply of

water. They are, at least in Sumer, essentially deities of irrigation. In the midsummer lamentations his sister, who is also described as his mother, his wife, and his lover, implores Tammuz to rise again from "the river." For he was supposed to have been cast upon the Euphrates, and to have sunk beneath its waters in sign of the failing summer stream. A passage from the Tammuz liturgies reads:

> "From the river, from the river arise, rejoice.
> O what for a child? From the river arise, rejoice.
> O strong one, from the river arise, rejoice.
> O illustrious one, from the river arise, rejoice.
> O my lord, from the river arise, rejoice.
> O Damu, from the river arise, rejoice." [35]

A similar passage occurs in another liturgy:

> "O thou with woe overfull, O shepherd.
> From the river arise, be appeased.
> O what for a child? From the river arise, be appeased.
> O Damu, from the river arise, be appeased.
> Thou priest of lustration, from the river arise, be appeased.
> O Isir, from the river arise, be appeased."

These lines are spoken by his sister Innini who then describes to him how she has adorned herself for his return from the lower world.

> "'My side is the cedar, my breast the cypress.
> O offspring of the house, my . . . is the . . . cedar,
> Yea the cedar and the pine,
> The dark produce of Dilmun.
> My face with pigment I have beautified.
> My head with a radiant crown I have adorned.
> My . . . with cedar ointment I have beautified.
> My back with the garment *dukaddua* I have adorned.
> O what for a child is mine? How long sleepeth he?
> The sturdy one who sorrows, how long sleepeth he?
> Damu who sorrows, how long sleepeth he?
> Priest of lustration, who sorrows, how long sleepeth he?
> O what for a child? In the garlic he sleeps, in the garlic he was cast away.

The strong one, my Damu, in the garlic sleeps, in the garlic he was cast away.
In the willows he sleeps, with woe cries he is overfilled.'
To her child in the plains of Heaven she hastened.
In the plains of Heaven, in the plains of Earth she hastened.
In the plains of Earth he kept watch.
Like a herdsman he kept watch over the places of the fat cattle,
Like a shepherd he kept watch over the places of the fat sheep.
Woe and wailings for the seized away." [36]

The lost Tammuz had been a shepherd of the sheep and the herdsman of the cattle, and now he perished with flowers and grass; in their withered leaves the Sumerians recognized the dead body of Tammuz. Ewe and her lamb languished, she-goat and her kid famished.

"I the strong one go to the conflict, the way of no return,"

said Tammuz in one of the liturgies, and the wailing men and women replied:

"Woe, O man, heroic Ninazu.
Woe, O man, my man, my Damu.
Woe, O man, the child Ningishzida.
Woe, O man, god Lamga, lord of the net.
Woe, O man, prince, lord of adoration.
Woe, O man, Isir, of the shining eyes.
Woe, O man, my heavenly singer.
Woe, O man, Ama-ushumgalanna.
Woe, O man, brother of the mother, the goddess Geshtinanna.
He is gone, is gone, to the bosom of the earth,
His (cup of sorrow) is overfull in the land of the dead.
With sighing for him on the day of his fall,
In the month of no peace, in his (appointed time) of the year.
On the journey that brings men to extremities,
With lament for Damu the lord
Is the hero (gone) to the far-away land unseen.
Woe for the springing verdure delayed, woe for the leafing plant which is restrained." [37]

The same liturgy tells how Tammuz in his infancy lay in a submerged boat, referring to his being cast as an infant upon the river, where he sank beneath the waves. In his manhood

he was drowned at harvest time. Another liturgy compares Tammuz with a tamarisk which has no water in the garden, and with plants whose foliage withers in the fields. These passages reveal the origin of the Greek ceremony at the wailings of Adonis. "The gardens of Adonis," "were baskets or pots filled with earth in which wheat, barley, lettuces, fennel, and various kinds of flowers were sown and tended for eight days, chiefly or exclusively by women. Fostered by the sun's heat the plants shot up rapidly, but having no root they withered as rapidly away, and at the end of eight days were carried out with images of the dead Adonis and flung with them into the sea or into springs."[38]

A dialogue between Tammuz and Innini, in which the dying god, who sleeps in Arallû, is identified with the Sun-god, bears the title "A Meditation of Innini":

"His sister stood forth and lamented.
To the Sun-god her husband she uttered a tale of lament.
Innini, she who brings verdure in abundance.

. . . . . .

O Innini the verdure I will restore to thee.
O brother the verdure, where is it taken?
Who has taken? who has taken?
The plants from me who has taken?
My sister, that which is taken I restore to thee.
O Innini, that which is taken I restore to thee.

. . . . . .

O brother, the crushed, where are they gone?
Who has garnered? who has garnered?
The plants from me who has garnered?
My sister, that which is garnered I restore to thee.
O Innini, that which is garnered I restore to thee.
O brother, the garnered, where is it transported?
Whom shall I embrace, whom shall I embrace?
Thee I would embrace, yea embrace.
Thee, O my husband, I would embrace.

. . . . . .

Him that from the flood is risen I would embrace.
Him, whom the father in the holy chamber begat, I would embrace.

Return, O lord, provide the flood, O lord, provide the flood.
O lord, rejoice my heart.
The spade labours not, but the granaries shall be heaped." [39]

Tammuz was, therefore, intimately connected with the Sun-god Shamash, more particularly with the type of Sun-god who became lord of the dead, Nergal. One of the hymns in the Tammuz wailings is actually addressed to Nergal,[40] and, like Nergal, Tammuz had also the title "Lord of Arallû." This identification with the Sun-god was suggested by the fact that both descended to the lower world. When the Sumerian myth and cult of the dying god spread among the Western Semites it was wholly natural that the principal city of sun worship in Phoenicia became also the centre of the Tammuz cult. Gebal or Byblos, the home of the Phoenician Sun-god El, accepted the mystic cult of death and resurrection with enthusiasm. Adunî, "my lord," became the exclusive title of Tammuz here where the river which descended from the Lebanons ran yearly to the sea dyed red with the blood of Adonis. Gebal became the sacred city of West Semitic religion and bore the title "Holy Gebal." As Erech, home of the goddess Innini-Ishtar, became the centre of the Tammuz-Ishtar cult in Babylonia, so was Gebal the centre of the Western cult. But this myth, and the theological dogmas and mystic beliefs founded upon it, were of universal appeal and found response in the souls of all men. It is the greatest of all ancient myths and appealed to the poor and humble, to the toilers and the distressed, more than all the glamour of warlike gods who shook Heaven and Earth with their Word and founded their abodes in Heaven and the Abyss.

CHAPTER XII

THE DEVILS, DEMONS, GOOD AND EVIL SPIRITS

BELIEF in shadowy beings which infest the air and secret places of earth is common to all religions, and is in none more emphasized than among the primitive Semites.[1] The Arabians said that there were forty troops of Jinn, and each troop consisted of six hundred thousand Jinn. This word is an abstract noun meaning "the hidden." The Jinn were said to have inhabited the earth before man, and were created from fire. Under their leader, Azāzel or Iblîs, they rebelled against the gods, and angels drove them to the waste places of the earth. They have the power to change their forms in the twinkling of an eye, and rarely appear visible to man, although animals can detect them. When the cock crows or the ass brays they have seen a Jinn. The Jinn have animal forms, and appear as snakes, dogs, cats, swine, and infest the waste places of the desert. They roam by night and disappear at dawn. Therefore the Arabs close every possible entrance of their houses by night, and fear to travel in the darkness. The Jinn ride abroad on animals, preferably on ostriches and foxes, a legend which possibly explains the Babylonian representations of Marduk and the ostrich; see Fig. 86, where the ostrich represents one of the dragons of Chaos in late Babylonian and Assyrian mythology. Arabian mythology figures them as horrible hybrid monsters, half wolf and half hyena. Figure 95 shews one of the Arabian Jinn, the ghoul, as drawn for the famous explorer, C. M. Doughty, by a desert Arab, who swore by Allah to have seen her. Her voice sounded like that of a mother calling her children.

Three monotheistic religions were born on Semitic soil, and each of them retained and even increased the emphasis on this belief in the existence of devils and evil spirits. Judaism, with its monotheistic God Yāw, retained a host of demons, evil and propitious. The Jewish treatises on magic to prevent the wicked machinations of demons, and the multitude of bowls with Aramaic, Mandaic, and Jewish charms, directed principally against the horrible demoness Lîlîth, constitute a great literature in the history of Judaism in all lands and in all periods to the present day.[2] Christianity admitted the existence of evil and good spirits from the beginning, and Jesus, its Founder, recognized Satan and the demons as evil spirits.[3] The Evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke give an account of the temptation of Jesus by Satan in the wilderness immediately after His baptism in the Jordan by John the Baptist. According to Matthew and Luke the Devil (*diabolos*) had power to confer kingdoms upon Jesus, which he offered to do if He would worship him. Jesus replied: "Get thee behind me, Satan." And so the Devil left Him and angels came to minister unto Him.[4] Satan and the demons form an important aspect of Christian demonology in all periods of the Roman Catholic, Eastern Greek, and Protestant Churches.[5]

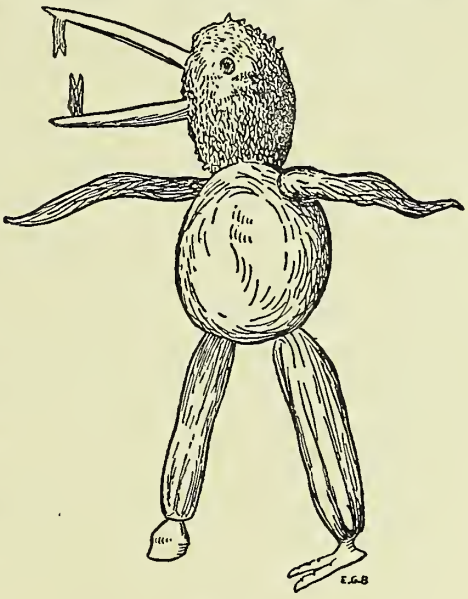

Fig. 95. The Arabian Ghoul

Mohammed, the founder of Islam, likewise admitted the existence of the hosts of Jinn and demons of pre-Islamic

Arabia,[6] and the subsequent history of that religion, which lays special emphasis upon Allah as the one and only God, follows much the same course in respect to demonology and morbid magical expiatory rites [7] as Judaism and Christianity. In the sacred book of Islam, the Koran (*Qurān*), Mohammed writes that Allah had created the Jinn of subtle fire before He created man from clay. And when He ordered the angels to worship man they all obeyed save Iblîs, who was cursed "until the day of reckoning," and became the lord of all the Satans. The Mohammedan legend was derived from a post-christian Jewish story told in "The Books of Adam and Eve." [8] After Adam was created, Yāw commanded Michael and all the angels to worship God's new creation; Satan refused, and He banished Satan or the Devil with all his angels. Henceforth they lived on earth. Belief in a personal monotheistic God failed to banish demonology from any of the monotheistic religions of mankind. It is, in fact, a debatable theory whether the demons, good and evil, are not older than the gods themselves, and magic has been claimed to be the forerunner of all the religions and mythologies of civilized nations and races.

In this book I have divided the mythology of Semitic religions into two great groups — the eastern and northern mythology, almost exclusively dominated by Sumero-Babylonian mythology, and the southern or Arabian mythology, where alone the original mythological conceptions of Semitic peoples were not suppressed or displaced by the overshadowing influence of the ancient religion of Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria. The demons and satyrs of the north and west Semitic races were, therefore, largely borrowed from Babylonia, ultimately from Sumer, as were their myths and many of their gods. Few traces of truly Hebrew demonology survive in the Old Testament, although it is precisely this aspect of superstitious beliefs which remains most radically immune from more spiritual influences among all races.

Sumerian mythology attributes the origin of demons to wan-

dering souls of the dead, and Hebrew mythology preserves the same superstition in its references to the Rephâim or giants who inhabited Palestine before the Hebrew occupation. The legend corresponds to the Islamic myth that the Jinn, under their leader Iblîs (borrowed from the Greek *diabolos*, Devil), occupied the earth before the creation of Adam. Four Philistine giants who warred with David are described in 2 Samuel xxi. 15–22 as sons of the Raphâ in Gath. One of them had six fingers and six toes. The Israelites under Moses, arriving in Moab east of the Dead Sea, were told of a legendary race of giants, the Emim, "many and tall like the Anâqim"; both were accounted Rephâim in Canaanitish legend. Of the Ammonites north of Moab they learned from Moses that aforetime the Rephâim had also occupied that land and were known as the Zamzummim there (Deuteronomy ii. 10–21). Chedorlaomer smote the Rephâim at Ashteroth Qarnaim, and there was a famous tale in early Hebrew history concerning Og, king of Bashan, a land east of the Sea of Galilee. When the Israelites invaded the region north of Moab, they came upon the legendary troglodytes of prehistoric times. Og was the last of the Rephâim, and his iron bed was nine cubits (*circa* fifteen feet) long and four cubits wide (Deuteronomy iii. 3–11; Joshua xii. 4, xiii. 12, 30, 31).

The word Rephâim is identical with the Hebrew and Phoenician word for souls of the dead who dwell in Sheol, and there can be no doubt that they are fabulous giants or demons in Semitic mythology, corresponding to the *gigim*, *gidim*, "ghost," of Sumerian mythology, and the *eṭimmu* of Accadian demonology. The Semitic verb from which Raphâ, "ghost," plural Rephâim, is derived means "to sink into darkness," and is common in Accadian under the form *rabû*.

Another class of demon is referred to in post-exilic sections of Isaiah (xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14), the Śeʿîrim or "Hairy ones," that is satyrs as goats. They are mentioned with the ostrich in a prophecy against Babylon:

"There shall the ostriches dwell,
And satyrs dance therein."

The ostrich was associated with demons in both Arabian and Babylonian mythology, and the post-exilic code of rituals forbade the Hebrews to offer sacrifices to these hairy satyrs as they had done in ancient times (Leviticus xvii. 7); for even Rehoboam, first king of Judah, had appointed priests for these satyrs. A ceremony of expiation preserved in Leviticus (chap. xvi), apparently a survival from primitive Semitic customs, consisted in casting lots upon two goats (*śeʿîrim*); the goat, thus chosen for Yāw, became a sin offering; the one chosen for Azāzel was placed alive before Yāw that a ritual of atonement be made over it and then it be sent away to Azāzel into the desert. A further note in this record says that the priest (Aaron) placed both hands upon the live goat, confessing all the sins of the people, which were thus placed upon the goat. An attendant then led it away into the wilderness bearing all the sins of Israel.

Azāzel, to whom propitiation was thus made, is clearly a primitive satyr of the flocks, the leader of the hairy race of Jinns called Śeʿîrim, and a good demon whom later mythology transformed into a devil. He corresponds to the Sumerian genius Ninamaškug, "Lord of the pure cattle-stall,"[9] described as the shepherd and psalmist of Enlil. In a similar ritual, the *mašḫuldubbû* in Babylonian magic, "the goat upon which sin was poured out" was sacred to Ninamaškug. This word (*mašḫuldubbû*) is of Sumerian origin and apparently meant a live goat consecrated by priests. A demon could be expelled from a man by placing the head of the "scapegoat" (so the ancient versions rendered Azāzel) to the head of the man. The poisonous tabu was cast into the goat's mouth and the demon departed into the goat.[10] The ceremony was performed at sunset, when the "scapegoat" was placed next to the man's body. The fillet which had been tied to the goat's head was then tied to the patient's head.[11]

It may be assumed that Azāzel was a primitive Semitic genius of the flocks; in late Jewish mythology, chiefly preserved in the Book of Enoch, he was transformed into one of the angels who descended from Heaven and married the daughters of men. He is usually described as the leader of these angels; they corrupted the earth, and their offspring were giants. And so Yāw caused Azāzel to be bound and cast into a pit in the desert; for according to Jewish tradition the "scapegoat" was sent to perish in the desert. The myth that demons cohabit with women, and female demons with men, is universal in Semitic folk-lore and in Sumerian. Female demons are said to be "the harlot, mother womb that bears children,"[12] and the *ala* (Sumerian) demon was bisexual; a man is said to have impregnated him.[13] The Jinn of Arabian demonology are said to cohabit with human beings, and their offspring are also invisible spirits.[14] Persian demonology contains a legend of how the demon Azi ravished two beautiful women, but there is no other reference to this belief in Persian sources.[15]

In Sumero-Babylonian mythology the devils were the offspring of Anu, the Heaven-god.

"Cold, fever diminishing all things,
Evil devil whom Anu begat.
Namtaru, beloved son of Enlil, borne by Ereshkigal.
On high they have decimated, on earth they have laid misery.
They are the creation of Hell.
On high they roar, on earth they shriek.
Bitter poison sent by the gods are they.
Great storms which have been let loose from Heaven are they.
Owl(?) which cries in the city are they.
Begotten by Anu, children, offspring of the nether world are they."[16]

"Giants seven times two are they.
All one begetting, created by the begetting of Anu, are they.
They are surging blasts of wind.
A wife they married not, children they begat not.
Child they know not.
Horses which grew up in the mountain are they.
They are wicked ones of Enki.

Throne-bearers of the gods are they.
To trouble the streets they stand in the ways.
They stalk before Nergal, strong hero of Enlil." [17]

The most terrible of all Sumerian demonesses, the Lamme, Lamashtu in Babylonian, was the daughter of the Heaven-god. The devils of Sumero-Babylonian mythology were, therefore, "sons of the Heaven-god," corresponding to the "sons of Elōhim" in the Semitic myth preserved in the early Hebrew source, Genesis vi. 1–4. The "sons of Elōhim" saw the daughters of men and took for themselves wives which they chose, and so the Nephîlim or giants were born, and the Gibbôrim, or heroes of old, men of fame. These giants, which were believed to have inhabited the earth in prehistoric times, were also known as Rephâim, whom the Israelites claimed to have found in Moab (Emim and Anāqim, p. 355) among the Ammonites, and in Bashan, in Trans-Jordania. Likewise their spies found Nephîlim in southern Canaan, among whom were the "sons of Anāq," identical with the fabulous Anāqim of the Deuteronomic account.

A class of demons in Hebrew mythology were the *šêdim*, singular *šêd*, derived from Babylonia, where the *šêdu*, Sumerian *alad*, is by origin a bovine spirit, in sculpture usually represented by colossal winged bulls. Fig. 96 shews one of these *šêdu* placed at the palace-gate of Ashurnazirpal. These protecting spirits are invariably mentioned with the *lamma* or *lamassu*, probably winged cows as seen in Fig. 97, or in any case winged female animals. Asarhaddon boasted that he placed *šêdus* and *lamassus* at the right and left of his doorway, "which turn back the breast of the evil one, as was their purpose, protecting the foot-way, bringing peace to the footsteps of the king their maker." The representation of the *šêdu*-genius, as seen in Fig. 96, probably affords only a special design of the various forms in which they presented themselves to the vivid imagination of the Babylonians and Assyrians. This winged bull is one of the good *šêdu*, and one passage states that

the "good *šêdu*" is a goat (*Nies Collection*, ii. 22, 140 and 177). There were also evil *šêdu*.

"Decimating Heaven and Earth, *šêdu* decimating the land,
Šêdu decimating the land, whose power is of Heaven,
Whose power is of Heaven, whose roving is in Heaven.

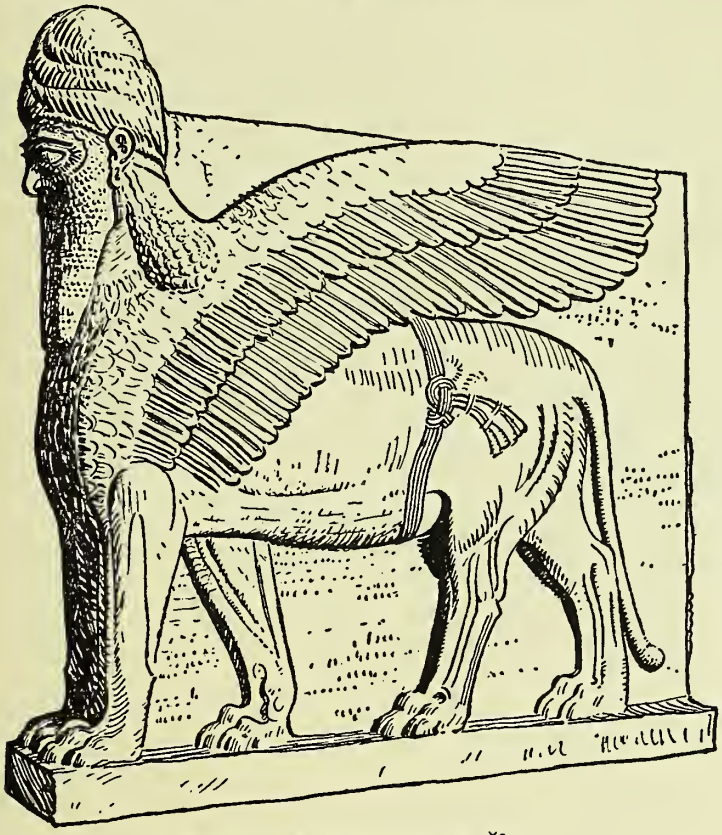

Fig. 96. Assyrian Winged Šêdu

The *gallû*, the goring ox, the mighty ghost,
Ghost which violates all houses.
Shameless *gallû*, seven are they.
They grind the land like meal,
They know not mercy.
Raging against the people.
Eaters of the flesh, causing blood to flow like rain, drinking the arteries.
Once on a time, in the place of the forms of the gods,

FIG. 97. THE SUMERIAN LAMASSU

In the house of the god of the holy chamber, of the goddess of flocks and grain, they grew fat.
The *gallû*, who are full of wickedness, are they.
Ceaselessly they eat blood.
Cause them to swear the curse, and may they not return outside or inside (the house).
May they be cursed by the life of Heaven and Earth." [18]

Here the *šêdu* are identical with the seven devils, and are explicitly described as ghosts who ravage the land in the shape of bulls. They are described as evil and merciless, and associated with ghosts from the grave. The ideogram employed in writing *šêdu* probably means "strong one of the pit," a spirit whose abode is in Hell. The ideogram for "bull" has also the value *alad* (= *šêdu*) and may be used besides as a title of Nergal, lord of the dead. The good and evil *šêdu* was, therefore, a genius of the underworld, usually conceived of as a bull [19] and, like all other demons, connected with wandering souls of the dead. These then were the mythical beings of Canaanitish mythology. The writer of the song attributed to Moses, but of a later age, Deuteronomy xxxii. 17, accused the Hebrews of sacrificing to the šêdim (devils) "which are no god." The writer of Psalm cvi. 37 states that, in the old paganism of Canaan, sons and daughters were sacrificed to the *šêdim*, from which the inference may be drawn that here also the *šêdim* were associated with Nergal, or with Malik (Moloch) the terrible god of plague, fiery heat, and Inferno. Human sacrifies of expiation to this god have been discussed on page 52, and the same sacrifices would naturally be made to demons who served Nergal or Moloch. The *šêdim* survived in late Jewish mythology, and Baruch, writing in New Testament times, has these lines in his lamentation over Jerusalem:

"I will call the Sirens from the sea,
And ye Lîlîths, come ye from the desert,
And ye Shêdim and dragons (Tannim) from the forests." [20]

The Babylonian demon Lilû, Lillû, derived from Sumerian *lil*, "wind," "wind-demon," had the unenviable and baneful

rôle of a spirit of lasciviousness, enticing women in their sleep. His counterpart, the demoness Lilîtu, or Ardat Lillî, Ardat Lilî, "Handmaid of Lilû," exercised the same pernicious influence over men, and enjoys the unique distinction of having handed down to our times the only Sumerian word which survives in the English language. The demon Lilû, and the demonesses Lilîtu and Ardat Lilî, are named regularly among the ordinary names of the Sumerian demons as *lilla, kiskil lilla,* "Maid of *lilla,*" and *kiskil-uddakarra,* "Maid who seizes away the light," the last being only a late form of Lilîth. The regular list of these devils in Babylonia is, "Wicked Utukku, wicked Alû, wicked ghost (*eṭimmu*), wicked Gallû, wicked god, wicked Spy (Rabiṣu) Lamashtu, Labaṣu, the Seizer (Ahhazu), Lilû, Lilîth, Maid of Lilû," in all twelve demons, who cause disease, pestilence, and death.[21]

There is no special myth concerning either Lilû or Lilîtu in cuneiform texts but the activities of the group mentioned above are defined in one text as follows:

> "He against whom the wicked Utukku hurled himself,
> Whom in his bed the wicked Alû covered,
> Whom the wicked ghost by night overwhelmed,
> Whom the great Gallû assaulted,
> Whose limbs the wicked god lacerated,
> Whom Lamashtu possessed with a seizing hand,
> Whom Labaṣu overwhelmed,
> Whom the Seizer fastened upon,
> Whom the Maid of Lilû chose,
> The man, whom the Maid of Lilû pressed to her bosom." [22]

The omission of the Spy and Lilû in this list indicates their inferior importance. Lilîtu, the demoness of the wind who seduced men by night, passed into Hebrew mythology and is the most baneful and frequently mentioned of evil spirits throughout the history of Judaism to the present day. She figures largely in late Greek and in Christian demonology, and forms the subject of many Christian myths. A post-exilic poem

and prophecy on the destruction of nations has these lines on the desolation of Edom:

> " Wild beasts shall meet jackals,
> And satyr cry to its fellow.
> Only there shall Lîlîth have rest,
> And find for herself a place of repose." [23]

In later Jewish demonology Lîlîth was a hairy night-demoness, and the Targum warned men not to sleep alone in a house for fear of her. She also inherited in Judaism the character of the dreadful child-slaying Babylonian Lamashtu. To this day there are oral Rumanian tales of how the wind-maids smote a man on the way with disease of the eyes, and how they were found and overcome by St. Michael; and tales of the demoness Avezuha who sought to harm Mary the Mother of Jesus before the birth of her divine son. A Hebrew legend in the " Mystery of the Lord " says that Lîlîth was the first wife of Adam, mother of all the Sheddîm (*šedus*), and a child-stealer. There is a Syriac tale of how the holy Mar Ebedishu bound Lîlîth, and forced her to reveal all her names. She approaches no house where her names are written.[24]

In Mandean mythology there were Lîlîths, Zahriel being the name of the Lîlîth who watched over the beds of women in travail in order to steal the child. In Rumanian Christian mythology the Sumero-Accadian male demon Gallû becomes the child-stealing Lîlîth, under the form Gelu. A Jewish charm written on a bowl has the following legend: Elijah the prophet met the wicked Lîlîth on the road and asked her where she was going, calling her " thou foul one, spirit of foulness." She confessed that she was seeking the house of a woman in child-birth to suck the marrow of the child's bones, to devour his flesh. Elijah restrained her in the name of Y(āw), and she appealed to him not to ban her in the name of Y(āw), God of Israel. She told him that if they repeated her names, or if she saw her names written, she and her whole band would have no power over that place. She gave fifteen names, and Elijah

adjured her by Y(āw), the holy figure 613, by Abraham, Isaac, the holy tabernacle, the Seraphs, the wheels and holy beasts, and the ten books of the Law, not to come near the woman and child.[25]

The most commonly named demons of Sumerian mythology are the Utukku limnu, who seizes a man's shoulder; Alû limnu, who attacks a man's breast; Eṭimmu limnu, who attacks the bowels; Gallû limnu, who attacks a man's hand,[26] often associated with the Asakku, "the robber," who attacks the head, and the wicked Namtaru, who attacks the throat. The earliest mention of any of these demons in Sumerian is by Gudea who claims to have expelled the *ú-dug-ga*, the terrible, from his city.[27] The same ruler speaks of the "favourable *ú-dúg*," who went before him. Not until the end of Sumerian civilization is found the peculiar ideographic writing for this good and evil spirit. The ideogram begins with the sign for the fraction 2/3, whereas the sign for ghost, *gigim*, "he of darkness," in Accadian *eṭimmu*, begins with the sign for 1/3. Both words have a similar meaning, and designate spirits which have ascended from the lower world. *Gigim* or *eṭimmu* is the ordinary word for the souls of the departed, and passed into the late Jewish vocabulary as *ṭîmî*.[28] It is possible that the ideograms mean "one-third divine," "two-thirds divine." Offerings to *eṭimmê*, or souls of the departed, were a common custom in Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian religion. Diseases and troubles of all kinds are attributed to the "Hand of a ghost."[29] The following passage defines the activities of the seven demons, a number to which the larger list of twelve was ordinarily reduced, in harmony with the mythological power attached to the number "seven."

"The wicked Utukku who slays man alive on the plain.
The wicked Alû who covers (man) like a garment.
The wicked Eṭimmu, the wicked Gallû, who bind the body.
The Lamme (Lamashtu), the Lammea (Labaṣu), who cause disease in the body.
The Lilû who wanders in the plain.

They have come nigh unto a suffering man on the outside.
They have brought about a painful malady in his body.
The curse of evil has come into his body.
An evil goblin they have placed in his body.
An evil bane has come into his body.
Evil poison they have placed in his body.
An evil malediction has come into his parts.
Evil and trouble they have placed in his body.
Poison and taint have come into his body.
They have produced evil.
Evil being, evil face, evil mouth, evil tongue.
Sorcery, venom, slaver, wicked machinations,
Which are produced in the body of the sick man.
O woe for the sick man whom they cause to moan like a *šaḫarrat*-pot." [30]

They are described in this text as having ascended from the house of Ekur, and as the messengers of the Earth-god, Enlil. The priest of magic entered to expel them with the "Utukku (*šêdu*) of mercy" on his right hand, the "Lamassu of mercy" on his left hand. In this list the demon Alû can be identified with Ailô, one of the names of Lîlîth in Jewish demonology.[31] The Gallû passed into Greek mythology as Γελλώ, Gellô, and is said to have been mentioned by Sappho. According to Greek writers she was an overfond mother who died before her time, and she appears to children and those who die prematurely (from Suidas); she is said to have been the image of the vampire Empousa and a demoness who snatches away children.[32] The names of the Sumerian and Babylonian demons were, therefore, known to the classical Greek writers, and Gallû, originally a male demon, passed into Greek as a female and was identified with the child-snatching Lamia of Sumerian demonology. Alû and Gallû both appear as forms of Lîlîth throughout Jewish and Christian demonology, due to the fact that the Greek ending *ô* is feminine, and that they had been confounded with Lamia and Lilîtu, with whom they are constantly mentioned. Gallû has survived to the present day as one of the names of the demoness Lilith, and occurs repeatedly in Christian demonology of the Middle Ages as Gelou, Gilou.

One of these legends, written in Greek, says that St. Michael, descending from Sinai, met Abyzu, demoness of all ills, causing the milk of women to be cold, frightening children in sleep. St. Michael forced her to reveal her forty names, the first of which is Gilou.[33]

The most dreaded of all Sumerian demons was Lamme, or Lamashtu in Accadian, the female vampire who slew children, drank the blood of men, and ate their flesh. This name passed into Greek mythology as Lamia, derived from another name of her, Lam-me-a.[34] Sappho made mention of her, and a Scholiast on Theocritus wrote that Lamia was queen of the Laestrygonians and the same as Gellô, "who, being unfortunate in her own offspring, desired, as they departed, to slay all those that remained." Through her title Gellô this terrible creation of Sumerian superstition passed into the demonology of Europe. She appears first in the texts of the First Babylonian dynasty,[35] and in a series of thirteen incantations, which continued to be used as the standard of magic ritual against her malevolent activity in Babylonia and Assyria.[36]

Following the late Assyrian edition, which adds a ritual after each incantation, this demoness is described as follows, in the first incantation. She has seven names, Lamme, daughter of Anu, sister of the gods of the streets; Sword which shatters the head; She that kindles a fire (fever); She whose face is horrible; Controller of the slayers of the hand of Irnina; Mayest thou swear by the name of the great gods and with the birds of Heaven fly away.[37] The seven devils are also called the seven wicked Lamme (Lamashti) and the seven Lammea (Labaṣi), wicked fevers; and an incantation to protect a woman in childbirth against this dreadful child-snatching demoness describes her as the "seven witches," who bind men and murder maidens.[38] This text was written on amulets in accordance with the tradition that a demon would enter no house where he saw his name written, a belief which is common to all magical practices to this day. Fig. 98, a stone plaque whose upper shoul-

der is pierced by a cord-hole to suspend the amulet on a door or on the breast, has the text with seven names of Lamashtu inscribed on the reverse. The obverse shews Lamme-Lamashtu, the lion-headed demoness, holding a double-headed serpent in each hand. A dog sucks at her right breast, a pig at her left breast. The magician in the rituals made a clay image of her, smote it with a sword, and buried it outside the wall. Here she is represented with a sword driven into her skull, and the magician has provided her with raiment and food for her journey; he has sent her away to the mountains, the sea, and her dark abode in Hell. On the left may be seen a roll of clothing, a water-jar, a wine-jar standing in its support, a shoe, and a sandal. On the right is a centipede; between Lamashtu's legs is a scorpion, and before the ass's head a grain sack; beside it a loaf of bread. She rides off kneeling on the back of a galloping ass; although the ass runs, it nevertheless sails in a boat, whose prow ends in a serpent's head, and the poop in a bull's head.[39]

A similar amulet with the same text is seen in Fig. 99, where Lamashtu, seizing serpents, rides away on an ass in a boat. On the left is one of the devils, who stands as her rear guard, and a priest points her way to expulsion. On the collar of this amulet is the same scene as on the third register of Fig. 44, shewing the priests dressed in the " fish-robe," symbol of the Water-god, with two attendants. They perform the rituals for expelling the demons from the person lying on the bed, here apparently a woman in child-birth. On Fig. 44, the figure is clearly that of a bearded man. The lower register of Fig. 44 also shews the expulsion of Lamashtu, kneeling upon an ass, which gallops in a boat on the river. Her feet are those of a bird of prey. A dog sucks at each breast, recalling the words of the eighth incantation:

" The name of Anu and Antu, of Enlil and Ninlil,
Of gate and entrances,
Of sword and seed-plough,
Of the *ezibu* and his son, I cause thee to swear by,

If thou returnest to this house, comest hard upon the little one,
Sittest on the seat where he sits,
Liftest to thy lap the babe which I lift to my lap.
O Ishtar, hold back the mouth of thy dogs.
O Nanâ, hold back the mouth of thy whelps.
May the sleeper, who has lain down upon a bed not awake,
Until the sun sheds its rays of morn."

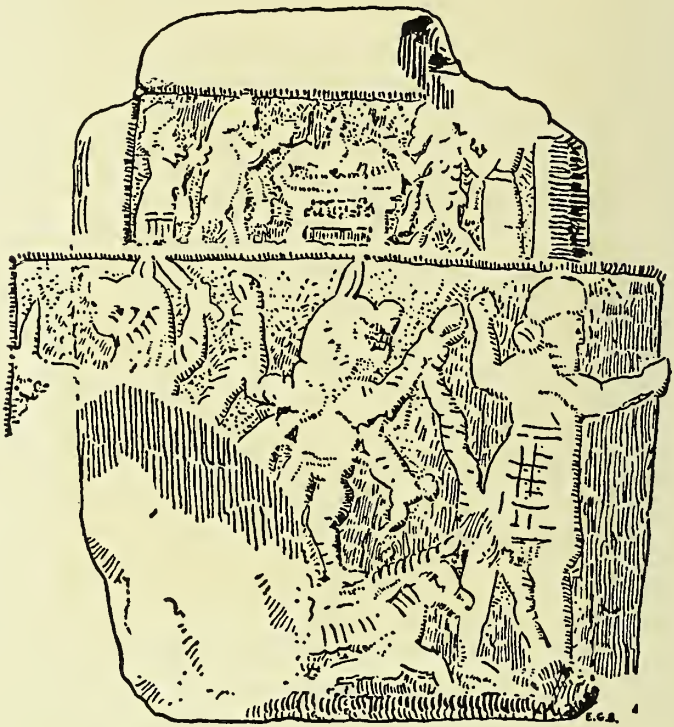

FIG. 99. EXPULSION OF LAMASHTU. BABYLONIAN AMULET

Curiously enough Ishtar or Innini (Irnini) and Nanâ, names of the virgin Mother-goddess, are frequently used for Lamashtu. Even the great goddess of healing, Ninkarrak, is also a demoness, and a man, distressed by being forced to appear before the assembly by accusers, prayed:

"O Ninkarrak, hold back thy whelps;
In the mouth of thy mighty dogs put a gag." [40]

FIG. 98. LAMASHTU ON HER JOURNEY WITH PROVISIONS

The Greek demoness Hecate had also her dogs, and she too was identified with the goddesses Selene, Artemis, and Persephone. In the tenth incantation [41] Lamashtu is described as the daughter of Anu, who received her name from the great gods; she is Innini, most eminent of queens, the slayer, the offensive *Asakku* (a demon of disease), the mighty cyclone of mankind. This incantation has been found on an amulet, which shews Lamashtu with the head of a bird of prey. Here she has a comb, spindle, and water-jar. Fig. 44 also shews the equipment provided for her journey — a jar, a comb, a bundle of garments, a sandal, and a shoe.[42] The third incantation began: "Angry, raging goddess, the furious, and she is a wolf, daughter of Anu." [43] She seizes old men, strong men, maidens, and little ones, fastens herself upon limbs, binds the muscles, inflames the body.

The fifth incantation describes her as a pest of beasts of prey; she infests rivers, highways, walls; befouls and shrivels the trees; and drinks the blood of men. The magician must give her comb, pectoral jewels, spinning rod, sandals, and water-pouch for her thirst; and must fill her scrip with dainties. The afflicted man prays:

> "Like a mule of the field ride away to thy hill."

The seventh incantation speaks of a sail-boat made for her to depart. The eighth incantation [44] describes how she slew infants; she cries to the women:

> "Bring me your sons, I will suckle them.
> In the mouths of your daughters I will put my teat."

Of special interest for the character of Lamashtu as she was borrowed by the Greeks under the Sumerian titles Lamia and Gellô is the twelfth incantation:

> "She has been made great, the daughter of Anu, suckler [45] of the feeble ones.
> Her palms are a trap, her bosom . . .
> A devourer, a howler, a foe, a robber.

A devastator, a plunderer, is the daughter of Anu.
She attacks the womb of the pregnant,
She snatches the babe from the nurses.
She suckles, carries off,[46] and goes *away*.
Great are her weapons, her sinews are . . .
Her head is that of a lion, her teeth the teeth of an ass.
Her lips are a spray, pouring out vomit.
She descended every mountain.
She shrieks like a lion,
Howls like a mad dog.
From threshold to threshold she howls." [47]

Marduk saw her evil work and told his father Ea how Lamashtu oppresses the feeble. Ea ordered Marduk to use his incantation, to give her a comb, spindle, and oil-bag, and send her on her way. The ritual prescribes that each of the thirteen incantations be recited over a part of the body, beginning from the head and ending with the feet. The first incantation was recited over the patient's head, the second over the neck, the third over the right hand, the fourth over the left hand, and so on, ending with right and left foot.

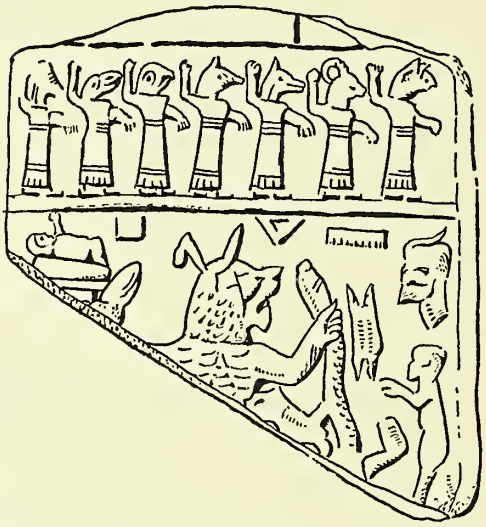

FIG. 100. SEVEN DEVILS AND LAMASHTU. BABYLONIAN AMULET

Two amulets with similar representations of Lamashtu, her provisions for travel, the figures of the seven devils and the demons in her train, carry an incantation different from any of the thirteen on the standard ritual. Fig. 100 shews one of these amulets;[48] here again a sword has been driven into her head. Before her stands one of her

attendant demons, and in the right upper corner is the horrible head of Pazuzu, "Lord of the wind-demons." The incantation describes Lamashtu as she who disturbs sleep and sends nightmares, precisely as in the eighth incantation of the series mentioned above (p. 369). This same incantation occurs on two amulets which represent Lamashtu with serpents, standing upon a crouching bull.[49] On Fig. 44 the wind-demon is seen behind Lamashtu in the fourth register, and the entire reverse is occupied by a large image in deep bas-relief of this demon Pazuzu, who peeps over the top, grinning at the calamities which Lamia has brought upon mankind.

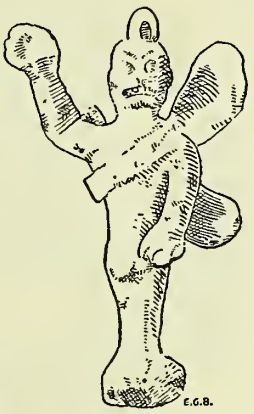

FIG. 101. PAZUZU, DEMON OF THE WINDS

Fig. 101 shews the four-winged demon of the winds, a monster with half human, half canine head, and wide grinning mouth. The hands are those of a savage wild animal, the legs terminate in talons of a bird of prey, and are covered with feathers. The monster has a scorpion tail. Three similar figures of this demon of the winds are known. They all have a ring attached solidly to the top of the head, and stand on a support, so that they may be suspended or set in any appropriate place to defend the home against his wicked attacks.[50] A curious figurine of Pazuzu in crouching position is also known, the body covered with scales, as is the bas-relief figure on the back of Fig. 44.[51] Only one of these has an inscription giving the name "(god) Pazuzu, son of (god) Hanpa, lord of the wicked wind-demons (*lilê*)," and it mentions the west wind.

More often this wind-demon is represented either on bas-reliefs with Lamashtu as on Figs. 44, 98, 99, or by the head only in the round as seen in Fig. 102, which bears an inscription: "Thou art mighty, high, mountain-infesting, controller of all winds, raging, angry, who approachest in wrath, angry

wind, whose onslaught is terrible, thou commander of the (four) regions, devastating the beautiful hills." Inscriptions on similar heads also describe this demon as a raging wind, descending on river and desert, spreading abroad fever and cold, smiting man and woman, and when it blows disease falls upon the pale-faced people.[52] The inscription on one of them names the demon as "(god) Pazuzu, son of (god) Hanpa, lord of the *lilê*, the wicked god."[53]

The demons are ordinarily referred to as seven in Sumerian and Accadian inscriptions, and they are figured on bas-reliefs as seven animal-headed monsters. In the texts which describe them, usually under the title the "wicked *utukku*," the number is indefinite, and usually more than seven. The list referred to above (p. 362) has twelve. To these may be added Namtaru, "fate," Asakku, "the plague," Mamit, "the curse," and many others. They are also said to be seven times seven in number and evil winds that rage, horses that grew up in the mountain of the lower world, throne-bearers of the gods, who walk before Nergal, god of Inferno. There is an obvious inconsistency in the Babylonian conception of the seven devils. The second register of Fig. 44 shews them in this order with reference to the animal nature of their heads — panther, lion, dog, sheep, wild ram, bird of prey, serpent. On Fig. 99, they are antelope, serpent, bird, fox, wolf, wild ram, panther. A similar amulet has the seven devils as fox, sheep, antelope, bird, wild ram, serpent, panther.[54]

FIG. 102. HEAD OF PAZUZU

A Sumerian text describes them as follows:

" They are rushing storms, evil gods,
Merciless *shêdu* who were created on the bulwark of Heaven.
They are makers of trouble.
They maintain wickedness, who daily enter for wickedness, who attack to commit murder.
Among the seven, firstly there is the south wind.
The second is the great viper, whose wide open mouth [*slayeth*] every man.
The third is an angry panther, whose mouth knows no mercy.
The fourth is the terrible adder which . . .
The fifth is the raging lion which knows not how to retreat.
The sixth is an onrushing . . . which against god and king . . .
The seventh is the north wind, evil wind which wrathfully . . .
Seven are they, messengers of Anu the king." [55]

It is clear that the Sumerians and Babylonians believed these evil spirits to belong to the divine order; they have no place for dualism in their system. In late Judaism and in early Christianity the belief in Satan, incarnation of all the demons of a long past Semitic mythology as a being of independent creation, according to modern scholars, is due entirely to Persian influence. When the author of the first Book of Enoch attributed the cause of all evil in the world to the "sons of Elohim," who married the daughters of men (see p. 357), and described them as fallen angels, he introduced into the history of Semitic mythology and theology a new principle. This movement began in the second century B.C. The chief of the demons, Belial, became the chief enemy of God in Jewish Apocalyptic literature, and Satan was held to be lord of the material world. All things worldly belong to him, and he is interpreted by modern scholars to be of independent origin and opposed to the deity of the spiritual world. It is beyond the subject of this book to discuss the gradual growth and sudden appearance of this supposed dualism in Judaism and Christianity. In a word, Semitic mythology now yields place to theology in large measure. The ancient mythology of the Semitic races had now run its course; it continued to exercise marked influence upon the subsequent development of Judaism, Chris-

tianity, and Islam, particularly in demonology, under the new and more exalted position which the demons and Satan had attained by the introduction of the Persian dualistic principle.[56] It should be noted, however, that Satan as the enemy of God and as the Anti-Christ in the new theology of Christianity is not new. The demons of Babylonian mythology also oppose "god and king." (See p. 373.) They are said to be the enemies of all the gods, although the texts repeatedly state that they were created by Anu, father of all the gods. For this tolerance of the gods, their creation of evil beings, and their permission to let them pursue their nefarious warfare against man and beast, plain and hills, trees and plants, the Sumerians and Babylonians had an explanation entirely consistent with monism. The demons are the scourge of the gods, and no man can suffer at their hands if he ensures himself properly by divine protection. And when he is the victim of the demons, the gods in their mercy provide their consecrated priests with divine power to drive them back to their tenebrous abodes.

Finally a warning against the acceptance of the principle of dualism in late Judaism and Christianity must be stated. Although Persian dualism is almost universally admitted by historians of Judaism and early Christianity, there are no passages in Jewish literature or in the New Testament to confirm irrefragably the confidence with which Judaism and Christianity have been condemned of dualism. In the final pages of this book the modern results of scholarship on the last two centuries before Christ, the New Testament period, and the succeeding centuries of Talmudic literature, have been stated. They are not the views of the writer of this book. Satan as the foe of god, the Anti-Christ, and lord of the material world, is not necessarily independent of "God the Father" of Christian theology and creeds, or of the Jewish rabbinical writers. There is no more inconsistency here than in Babylonian mythology.

NOTES

NOTES

Chapter I

1. Langdon [d], i. 7. In the early inscriptions the word is A-ga-de, but in later Babylonian the gentilic adjective is ak-ka-du-u.

2. On the dynasty of Accad, see *CAH*, i. 402–423.

3. See *OECT* ii. 10–11.

4. See Langdon [h], pp. 171–174.

5. See the *NPr* $^{\text{Ilu}}$Dungi-ša-am-ši, Genouillac, ii. 17, No. 728. In this *NPr*, however, *Šamši*, "my Sun," is hardly anything more than the word for "Sun." It is the earliest known phonetic writing of the Semitic word.

6. In *NPr* Ummi-$^{\text{Ilu}}$Šamši (ši), *CT* ii. plates 23, 28.

7. In *NPra* Samsu-ditana, Samsu-iluna, Samsu-erah, Bauer, p. 38.

8. For the South Arabian pantheon the following works should be consulted: Nielsen [a], pp. 177–250; W. Fell, "Sudarabische Studien," *ZMDG* liv. 231–259 (1900); Margoliouth, *Relations between Arabs and Israelites*. A good map of Sabaea, Ma'in, and Hadramut will be found with F. Hommel's account of "Explorations in Arabia," pp. 693–793 of Hilprecht.

9. In Fig. 2 the sun is represented by a simple cross, based upon the more usual four-pointed star. See also Delaporte [b], Plate 51, No. 10, and Langdon, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 44–46. In early Babylonian symbolism the sun is also represented by a disk. For Fig. 3, see Anzani, *Riv. Ital. Num.*, xxxix. 22 (1926).

10. For a Sabaean inscription discovered at Warka, ancient Sumerian Erech in Sumer, see Loftus, pp. 233–4. For the recently discovered South Arabian inscriptions at Koweit, see *GJ* lix. 321–34. Three inscriptions of this kind were excavated at Ur. See E. Burrows, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 795 ff.

11. Nielsen [a], i. 214–218.

12. The ordinary Sumerian ideogram for Sin is EN-ZU, which, like other ideograms, such as ZU-AB = *apsû*, "nether sea," GAL-UŠUM = *ušumgallu*, "dragon," was pronounced in inverse order *zu-en*. This is proved by the orthography of Cappadocian tablets in which *NPra*, which contain the name of Sin, have regularly Zu-in, Su-en. See *ZDMG* lxxiv. 218; *ZA* xxxviii. 244. In an early Accadian inscription from Ur the word is written $^{\text{Ilu}}$Zu-en, Gadd and Legrain, No. 11. All doubt concerning this reading is removed by the writing

of the name of the Assyrian month Arah-Su-en and variant Arah-^{ilu}Sin, Ebeling, *KAJI*, Nos. 57, 29; 32, 22. In a text dated ninth year of Gimil-Sin of Ur, the *NPr* Ur-^{d}Si-na proves that the Sumerians and Accadians pronounced this word Sin. See C. E. Keiser, *YOS* iv. No. 39, 4. In an early Sumerian hymn the word is written *zu-e-na*, A. Poebel, *ZA* xxxvii. 174.

13. Osiander, *ZDMG* xix. 238 (1865), ll. 2–5. Here ʿAthtar is called his father. Parallel passages have Ilmuqah for Sin, *ibid.*, p. 242. The name Sin occurs on two monuments. See Nielsen, *MVAG*, 1909, p. 359.

14. From Egyptian sources it is possible to argue that the Sinaitic plateau was a centre of moon worship from early times. On the rock inscriptions from Magharah, in the western part of the Sinaitic peninsula, the Egyptian Moon-god Thôth is portrayed observing Cheops (fourth dynasty, early in the third millennium) smiting the inhabitants of this region, Gardiner and Peet, Plates 2, 3, No. 7. Again on a monument of the fifth dynasty from Magharah, *ibid.*, Plate 6, No. 10, the god is apparently figured, and he occurs there again with Hathor in the reign of Amenemmes III, Plate 10, No. 23, early part of the second millennium. There seems to be no explanation for this unless moon worship was connected with this area from remote antiquity.

15. Son of Jeconiah, 1 Chron. iii. 18. See Cheyne, *EBi* col. 4453.

16. Genesis xiv. 2. The Greek has here Sennar, and the name is, therefore, doubtful. But "Sin (is) father" is a good Semitic *NPr*. See Jensen, *ZA* vii. 177, note 1. See 2 Kings xxiii. 5, where the ordinary Semitic word for "moon," *jārēah*, is used. Also Deut. xvii. 3, Jeremiah viii. 2.

17. Job xxxi. 26, 27. The act of adoration referred to is that of throwing a kiss to the statue of a deity, common in Sumer, Babylonia, and Greece. See "Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian prayer," *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 531 ff.

18. This is also the theory of Nielsen [a], p. 218. On the early Arabian pantheon, see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums;* Dussaud [a], in which the religion of the North Arabian inhabitants of the Hauran, south of Damascus, is discussed. See Krehl, p. 45.

19. On the various theories concerning a deity as father of a clan, see the discussion by Lagrange, pp. 110–118; Gray, pp. 253–255, who admits totemism in the early period of Hebrew religion, arguing from personal names taken from animals.

20. Müller and Rhodokanakis, i. 190; W. T. Pilter, *PSBA*, 1916, p. 154.

21. On titles of god as father, uncle (ancestor), see Bauer, p. 61. ʿAmm-yadaʿ, Ab-yadaʿ, Yadaʿ-ab, and perhaps Hâl-yadaʿ, "the uncle knows," are further examples of Himyaritic names. In Accadian of

the Amoritic period, Yadah-ab, "the father knows," Yadah-elum, "El knows."

22. See Chapter XI. The use of "brother" and "sister" for these deities is derived from Sumerian. Cf. *ERE* ix. 171.

23. *RA* xiii. 8 (Scheil).

24. Sargonic period (2732 to 2549 B.C.).

25. For the early Accadian period see Ungnad [d], pp. 29–30.

26. For the Minaean inscriptions at al-'Olā and the prolific inscriptional material of the Lihyani or Thamudi of the sixth century B.C. there, see D. H. Müller, "Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabischen," *DWAW*, 1889. For the Ṣafa inscriptions of the Hauran, see Dussaud [b]. The only Himyaritic names based on god as brother, known to me, are Ah-nadab or Ahi-nadab, "the brother is generous." Cf. Hebrew Ahi-nadab, Assyrian Ahi-nadbi, and Phoenician Ah-nadab, Tallquist [a], p. 17, and Ahu-Karib, "the brother is gracious," Pilter, *PSBA*, 1916, p. 156.

27. Tallquist [a], p. 16.

28. *ibid.*, pp. 17, 305.

29. *Syria*, v. 135–157; Vincent, *RB*, 1925, pp. 180 ff. This tomb inscription of Ahi-râm of Gebal is dated by Dussaud on the basis of Egyptian antiquities found with it as early as the fourteenth century, but the epigraphy is decisively against the early date. The Egyptian monuments found with the sarcophagus of Ahiram afford no evidence for the date of the sarcophagus, and the Phoenician inscription cut in the wall of the tomb-shaft is also no evidence that it is contemporary with the Egyptian remains. The best epigraphists whom I have consulted also emphatically deny the early date.

30. The title *'ammu*, *'am*, in Semitic religion is not found in early Accadian, and appears first in Babylonian with the Amoritic invasion. See Bauer, p. 73.

31. Gray, p. 254, saw this difficulty. See p. 12, where a more probable reason based on Enlil as brother of Aruru is discussed.

32. Ungnad [d], p. 86.

33. Judges i. 35.

34. In any case a bird.

35. Of Yāw in Deut. xxxii. 4, 18; in the *NPr* Pedāh-zūr, "the ransom of Zur," and in the name of a city in Judah, Bêth-zūr, "House of Zūr"; of some Aramaic deity in Bar-zūr, "Son of Zūr," Cooke, No. 62, 1. But see Gray, pp. 195–6. According to Pilter, *PSBA*, 1916, p. 173, the word *ṣor* is employed in Himyaric as a title of a god, Zor-'addan.

36. Animal names in Sumerian do not exist. There such epithets as "dog," "calf," in Sumerian mean "servant" or "offspring." See *ERE* ix. 171.

37. See Dussaud, *NAMS* x. 616, for Dhi'b at Safā in the Hauran, first century A.D. For the name in classical Arabic, see Margoliouth, "Names (Arabic)," *ERE* ix. 138. Cf. the Palmyrene (Aramaic) name 'Ugaitu, "the little mountain goat."

38. E. Littmann, "Vorbericht der deutschen Aksum Expedition," *ABAW*, 1906, p. 9, l. 4; Nielsen, "Die Äthiopischen Götter," *ZDMG* lxvi. 589–600.

39. According to Nielsen the Ethiopic Earth deity is the Sun-goddess of South Arabia. An exact parallel to this exists in Sumerian, where the Earth-god Enlil is often identified with Babbar-Shamash. See Langdon, *PBS* x. 158, n. 1, 308, n. 2.

40. Numbers xxi. 29.

41. Exodus iv. 22.

42. Deut. xxxii. 6.

43. Deut. v. 18.

44. Jeremiah xxxi. 9, 20. See above, p. 7, on the fatherhood of god.

45. Heracles ἀρχηγέτης. Cooke, No. 36.

46. Ungnad, [c], p. 409.

47. So in Assyrian.

48. Nöldeke, p. 103. For Hebrew names composed with *ab*, "father," as title of Yāw, El, or some Canaanitish deity, see Gray, pp. 22–34. For those containing *ben*, "son," *bath*, "daughter," *ibid.*, pp. 64–75. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 44, n. 4, misunderstands the Semitic structure of these names when he translates, for example, Abi-yah by "Father of Jehovah," etc., and argues that human kings married with the Mother-goddess and produced the heir to the throne. These names are not construct formations, as Gray, p. 79, proved. A name like Yô-ah cannot mean anything but "Jô is brother."

49. See Langdon [e], pp. 20–23.

50. *ibid.*, p. 23. Hence a name like Šeš-kalla, "the brother is strong," may refer to Tammuz (see p. 8) or to Enlil. For names in which *šeš* clearly refers to Tammuz, see Chiera, *PBS* xi. 235–6.

51. A title of the Mother-goddess. See for *ama* names, Chiera, *PBS* xi. 241–2.

52. *lipit qat* ^{ilat}*Aruru mitḫariš napišti*. See Langdon, [e], p. 26, n. 5.

53. Jensen, KB vi.^{2} 62, 9 = 58, 5.

54. Cf. Dammu-mu-al-lid, Tallquist [a], p. 254, s.v. "Dammu." But Ungnad [b], p. 407, 36, questions the reading.

55. Μύλιττα, Herodotus, 1. 131. See Zimmern, *KAT*^{3} p. 423, n. 7.

56. *RES* i. 18.2; iii. 15.90.

57. See Gray, p. 64, n. 2.

58. Hubert Grimme, *OLZ*, 1912, p. 16, tries to explain these names by transformation of a male deity into a female. He thinks that 'Ashtar-Kemosh means " Kemosh as a female deity," and I suppose logically he would interpret Eshmun-'Ashtar by 'Ashtar as a male deity. The Jews of Elephantine in Egypt worshipped several deities of this type, 'Anat-Yāw, 'Anat-Bethel, Ḥerem-Bethel, Ashim-Bethel, all of which are apparently combinations of a female and male deity. See Cowley, pp. xviii, xix. Combinations of male deities are common in Assyria; Ašur-Adad is specifically explained as a type of Ašur who exercises the functions of the Rain and Omen-god Adad, Rawlinson, iii. 66, obverse, iv. 35–37; Dagan-Ašur, *ibid.*, i. 14.

59. Dussaud [b], x. 411–745.

60. This spelling indicates rather the Arabic *ilāt* with article *al-ilāt*, as Brockelmann, i. 257, states.

61. Dussand, *op. cit.*, p. 457, is clearly right in identifying Ilāt of the North Arabians with Astarte. Nielsen [b], i. 253–265, argues that Ilāt in the Hauran is also the great Sun-goddess of South Arabia.

62. So Fleischer, Wellhausen, Nöldeke, in Nielsen, *ibid.*, p. 256.

63. Nielsen's principal argument in favour of Ilāt as a Sun-goddess in North Arabia of the Hauran is the design of the sun, a circle with rays, which accompanies several rock inscriptions, as *ZDMG* xxx. 514, Tafel I.e.; Dussaud [b], No. 307. On Vogüé, *ibid.*, No. 269, the sun is represented by a plain cross in a circle. This is a common Babylonian design for the Sun-god. See Langdon, *JRAS*, 1927, p. 44. But the North Arabian Ilāt, al-ilāt, Allat, was identified with Athena, the War-goddess, and hence is Ishtar as War-goddess, Langdon [h], p. 100 f. For Allat = Athena, see the inscription on an altar found at Cordova, *Syria*, v. 344, Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀλλάθ, and Dussaud [a], p. 129. The Palmyrene *NPr* Wahab-ilat, " Gift of Ilat," is rendered by the Greek Athenodoros, Clermont-Ganneau, *RB*, 1920, p. 392. Allat in Safaitic inscriptions is also the planet Venus, a complete assimilation to the Babylonian Ishtar.

64. Here written ^{mat}Na-ba-aî-te, gentilic Na-ba-ai-ti-ai (Nabataean), who are certainly the ancient Arabian people mentioned in Genesis and Deutero-Isaiah, Nebājōth. In the Nabataean inscriptions they are called N-b-t-u, pronounced Nabataei by Pliny in Latin; hence many scholars deny the identity of the Assyrian and Hebrew name with the Nabataeans of Arabia Petraea. See Streck, p. 66, n. 4.

65. Hesychius, i. 533, s. v. Δουσάρην; Dalman, p. 50; Hill [b], p. xxvi.

66. Brünnow and Domaszewski, i. 189.

67. In any case Strabo describes the Nabataeans as sun worshippers, xvi. 4. 26.

68. See Brünnow, *op. cit.*, p. 191. Epiphanius identifies Chaabu with Corē.

69. Kazwîni Atar el-Bilad, cited by Brünnow, p. 188.

70. Vogüé, at Ṣalhad, Nabataean Inscriptions, No. 8.

71. For the explanation of this baetyl as symbol of Dusares, see Hill [a], p. xxvii.

72. Mordtmann, *ZDMG* xxix. 101.

73. *ZDMG* xxix. 99.

74. *CT* xxiv. 13, l. 39 and 25, l. 95.

75. Origen, *contra* Celsum, v. 37.

76. See Daremberg and Saglio, article "Dusares," by Lenormant, and Cumont's article "Dusares" in Pauly-Wissowa.

77. See the myth of the death and resurrection of Bêl-Marduk.

78. Aiōn, personification in late Greek mysteries of "The Age," the period when a new era of happiness should replace the mortal age of sorrow. See on the Alexandrian legend and cult, Reitzenstein, pp. 195–6, with literature.

79. See Jules Girard, "Dionysia," *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, p. 233. Herodotus, iii, 8, says that the Arabic name of Dionysus was 'Orotalt, an obscure word which probably ends with "Alat." He is then the "Orot" of the goddess Alat, his mother. This is apparently a corruption of Walad-alat, "child of Alat." On the festival of Dionysus, called Anthesteria, and its Asiatic origin see also Deubner.

80. Cumont, p. 98.

81. Hill [b], Plate 12, ll. 19–22.

82. *ibid.*, Plate 19, ll. 1–4.

83. Cumont, p. 110, n. 5.

84. Τύχη πολέως. See "Tyche" in Roscher and Daremberg-Saglio.

85. For Allat of Petra on coins see Hill [b], Plate v. 10, 11, 13, 14, 15.

86. Brünnow and Domaszewski, i. 225, 182, Fig. 212.

87. Cumont, p. 110.

88. *ibid.*, Plate lxxxii and p. 216.

89. Here always in Greek Ναναια.

90. Langdon [h], pp. 48–49, 53, n. 4. She is the sister of Tammuz, and particularly associated with rivers and flocks. She appears as the wife of Nebo, *ḫîrat* ^{d}Muzibsā, *RA* xi. 97, l. 3; *ḫîrat* ^{d}Nabî, vs. i. 36, i. 5.

91. מנות in inscriptions from the Hejra, Cooke, No. 79, 5; 80, 4; 86, 8. The word is here read as a feminine plural, after Wellhausen, p. 24, but as a singular, Manūthu, by Cooke. Goldzieher, in *Archaeolog. epigr. Mittheil. aus Œsterreich*, vi. 109 (1882), also takes the word as plural, from the Latin inscription in Aquileja, Manawat, with Melag-

bêl (= Melekbêl), the Sun-god of Palmyra. See Langdon, "The Semitic goddess of Fate, Fortuna-Tyche," *JRAS* xxi. 9 (1930).

92. מנאת in *NPr* Ta'bad-Manât, Littman, *MVAG* 1904, Pl. i. 34.

93. Wellhausen, *ZDMG* lxxvi. 698; Fischer, *ibid.*, lxxvii. 120; Dalman, p. 52.

94. Dusares and Manathu, *CIS* ii. 320 F.

95. A West Semitic goddess of Fate.

96. Isaiah lxv. ii.

97. The verb *m-n-w*, *m-n-j*, is common to all Semitic languages, and means "to count," "to assign to," "to apportion," "to allot." The feminine form appears perhaps in *me-nat* E-mah, "She who assigns fate"(?) in Emah, title of the Mother-goddess *nunus-egi-me-a*, Rawlinson, ii. 59 A 39; L. W. King, *Catalogue Suppl.*, No. 51, 10. Here a title of ^{d}Mahbêlit ilāni. The statement in Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, addenda, p. 97b, that Menî is found on coins of the Persian period in the *NPr* Abdmenî is false. The reading is Abrokomu. See Babelon, p. lxxx.

98. Langdon, "Hymn to Ishtar as the Bêlit of Nippur," *AKF*, i. 21, ll. 5–7. The same titles in the great theological list, *CT* xxiv. 41, ll. 81–2. There Me-nu-an-nim, Me-nu-ul-lim.

99. A title of Ishtar as the "spinning goddess" is *uttu*, a Sumerian word explained by *minûtu*, "fate." The mythology of a goddess who spins and cuts the thread of life belongs eventually to Sumerian religion. and appears in Greece in the characters of the three Moirae. See Langdon, "The Semitic Goddess of Fate," *JRAS*, 1929.

100. See Wellhausen, pp. 25–29.

101. Zimmern [a], ii. 572–589.

102. *Šimat malki*, Ebeling, *KAR*, p. 109, Rev. 11.

103. ^{ilat}*šîmāti*.

104. ^{ilat}*šîmāti* is singular in Schroeder, *KAV* No. 42, col. ii. l. 25; *RA* xiv. 171, col. ii. l. 1; *KAV* No. 42, col. ii. l. 33; *RA* xiv. 71, col. ii. ll. 9–22. But plural, syn. Ishtarāti, Thurean-Dangin [d], pp. 2–3. For the singular cf. *NPr* Simti-ippeššir, "My fate is appeased," *RA* ix. 56, No. 3.

105. *R Arch* ii. 229 (1903), iii. 252, n. 2 (1904).

106. "Lord of Revelry," identified with Jupiter. See Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, *sub voce*.

107. *R Arch* ii. 29 (1903). A similar Latin inscription from this temple in *CIL* iii. 159.

108. The name is also written Σειμιος on an inscription from near Aleppo, Lidzbarski [a], ii. 323. Dussaud, *R Arch*, 1954, p. 257, regards Seimios as a masculine form of Sēmia, and since Sêmî is daughter of Adad = Balmarcod, he takes Seimios to be the son of Adad. There are in fact two Aramaean deities known as Apil-Adad and Marat-

Adad. See Tallquist [b], p. 227, and Rawlinson, iii. 66, obv. iii. 38. The Aramaic may have been Bar-Adad and Barat-Adad.

109. *CRAI*, 1902, p. 235; *R Arch* i. 387 (1902).

110. See Ronzevalle, *R Arch* ii. 29 ff. (1903). The last name is a plural. Cf. Shîmāti for Shimti above, and Ashtaroth, Anathoth in *OT*.

111. 2 Kings xvii. 30. H Grimme, *OLZ*, 1912, p. 14. For the form Ashîmā = Shîmā = Bab. Shimtu, cf. Abast for Bast, Cooke, p. 69; Arsa = Rusā, p. 48.

112. See previous note.

113. She probably has a quiver with arrows slung from each shoulder, as in designs of the martial Ishtar, Langdon [h], Plate i. No. 1.

114. The *LXX* renders his name by *δαιμων*. This deity's gender is fixed by NPr Gad-râm, Chabot, p. 929 (Phoenician); Gad-tōb, pp. 236, 1167 (Nabataean); Gadmelk (Hebrew).

115. Wellhausen, p. 59.

116. This title is of South Arabian origin, and a title of the Mother-goddess Allat. She is the evening star in Safaitic inscriptions, Wellhausen, p. 58; Dussaud [a], pp. 144 ff.; Littmann, p. 113.

117. For Allat as Venus see Dussaud [a], p. 131.

118. Wellhausen, p. 59.

119. Langdon [h], p. 181.

120. Zimmern, *BSGW* lxviii. 26, ll. 13–14.

121. See ʿAnat, below.

122. Dussaud, *R Arch*, 1903, p. 128.

123. *Têlîtu*, "nun," "sacred woman," describes Ishtar as patroness of priestesses and harlots. Venus as evening star is called *Zib* = *šimtu*, *šimtan*, "twilight." Te-li-ti ^{d}Iš-tar, (Craig, p. 67, l. 26) is a variant of ^{d}zib ^{d}Ištar, Ebeling, *KAR* p. 144, l. 16. *Šimtu*, "twilight," may be the same as *Šimtu*, "fate," and Ishtar's title, Shimti, "Fate," may be derived from astrology, while the Semitic mythology of Ishtar as Fortuna, Fata, may rest upon omens taken from her planet.

124. *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 18, ll. 4–6, 36, ll. 18–20.

125. *ibid.*, pp. 32, 37 ff.

126. Jer. vii. 18.

127. Jer. xliv. 17.

128. In my opinion Hammurabi, Ammarabi, etc., is Amraphêl, king of Kingin (Kingir, Šingir, Heb. Shineǧar, Shinar, Gen. xiv. 9). For attempts to disprove this, see Albright, *JSOR* x. 231 ff., where the impossible reading ʿAmmurawih is accepted. In a late Assyrian letter the reading Am-mu-ra-pi *lugal* may be the true pronunciation of the word as heard by the early Hebrew scribes. *Lugal* is the Sumerian word for *Šarru*, "king," but Ammurabi *lugal* occurs unnumbered times

in cuneiform writing, and *lugal* may have been read *lu*, since the ordinary word *lù* = *amelu*, "free-man," *bêlu*, "lord," is a variant of *lugal*, cf. Lugal-an-da, Lù-an-da, Allotte de la Fuÿe, No. 131, v. 1. Granted that in this common phrase the title was pronounced *lu*, Amraphêl is the direct rendering of it. See Jirku [b], p. 57; Bauer, pp. 53 ff.

129. i.e., "remained not in her war chariot." See Fig. 11.

130. Zimmern [b], p. 16, 14–20.

131. Fig. 11 shews the Bab. Ishtar in her war chariot. Astarte's chariot on coins of Syria and Phoenicia is taken from Bab. mythology. See the coin of Sidon, Hill [a], Plate xxv. 11, above the quadriga of the Sun-god.

132. Zimmern [b], p. 26, 21–28.

133. Scheil, *RA* xv. 175, 25–30.

134. *ibid.*, p. 181.

135. Cf. *AKF* i. 23, 26, where Ishtar is called *mupaḫḫirat ṣaltum*.

136. Ishullanu, gardener in the service of Anu. Two gardeners of Anu are the gods Igi-sig-sig ("bright-eyed") and Ennunsilimma ("guardian of peace"), *CT* xxiv, 3, 25 = 21, 59.

137. Text *tal-la-li*, which may be an error for *ḫulali*, after Jensen.

138. See Chapter VII.

139. For a representation of Gilgamish and Enkidu in combat with the bull, which is faithful to the text of the epic, where Enkidu seizes the bull by the tail, see Ward, No. 182.

140. For the astronomical meaning of this tale see Ungnad [e], pp. 11–13. According to him the back parts of the bull are still missing, and this he explains from the mutilation described in the epic.

141. See Bauer, pp. 69, 73. Anatum is a title of the Western Ašratu, Astart, Pinches in *Paul Haupt Festschrift*, p. 218. As-tar-tu, i.e. Astarte, is described as a War-goddess in a cuneiform list of Phoenician deities by Asarhaddon, K 3500, rev. ii. 18; *RA* xxvi. 191, read *AZ* not *IS*.

142. See Erman and Ranke, p. 616, n. 3; Albright, *AJSL* xli. 82–3.

143. Especially at Gebal.

144. See Langdon [h], pp. 95 f.

145. Rowe, *MJ* xvi. 310.

146. So 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, but in 1 Chron. x. 10, Saul's head was placed in the temple of Dagon.

147. See W. R. Smith, pp. 219, 294.

148. See Koldewey, p. 57.

149. Andrae, pp. 34–38.

150. For the serpent as symbol of the Earth-goddess, see Langdon [h], pp. 114–128.

151. This seems to be their use in Babylonia and Assyria, as on the

seal, Menant, i. 163. The Canaanitish shrine in Fig. 15 does not quite agree with this explanation.

152. Present feminine participle of *παρακύπτων*, "to peep out of a window."

153. See Herbig in *OLZ*, 1927, pp. 917–922, with Plate of Cypriote dove houses and the goddess peering from a window. See also Gressmann, ii. Abb. 523–4.

154. *Kililî ša apāti*, "Kilili of windows," *Shurpu*, iii. 74.

155. Ebeling, *MVAG*, 1918, part 2, pp. 22, 32 ff.

156. Craig, p. 57, 32.

157. *CT* xvii. 35, 73 = Ebeling, *KAR* 46, 7. The Sumerian has here *igi-lal*, "she who peers out."

158. *BA* iii. 238, l. 40 = Rawlinson, iii, Plate 66, obv. iii. 16, 17.

159. *Shurpu*, iii. 74–6.

160. *ibid.*, l. 77.

161. Either aquatic bird or winged insect, Hunger, *MVAG*, 1909, p. 281. Zimmern, *OLZ*, 1918, p. 1, decides for *kilili*, "crown," on account of the statement in Herodotus, i. 199; each year all Babylonian women must give themselves once to a stranger for hire in the temple of Aphrodite (Ishtar). Many sat in the sacred area of her temple wearing a crown made from a cord.

162. Knudtzon, No. 23.

163. See also Koldewey, p. 272; Layard, p. 477; Peters, ii. 374–5.

164. For the various local types see Contenau [a].

165. Gen. xxxi. 19–34.

166. Gen. xxxv. 4.

167. 1 Sam. xix. 13.

168. Hosea iii. 4.

169. Chiera, *PBS* i. 89, 10–12.

170. Littmann, p. 77.

171. *talimat* ^{ilu}*Šamaš*.

172. On Azizos and Monimos, see Dussaud, *R Arch*, 1903, pp. 128–133.

173. Dussaud, p. 371.

174. See the Aramaic or West Semitic *NPra* in Assyria of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., A-ta-a-id-ri, At-ta-a-id-ri, "Ata is my help"; A-ta-su-ri, "Ata is my bulwark." A coin from Hierapolis, reign of Alexander the Great, has the head of the goddess on Obv. with inscription אתא, "'Atā," Babelon, p. 45, No. 316, and pp. li, liii, Figs. 14, 15. Among these Aramaic *NPra* from Harran, east of the Euphrates, is found A-tar-id-ri. See Johns [a], p. 17.

175. On Fig. 21 this refers to the miniature shrine, apparently symbol of the ark of the Deluge. It has been suggested that *sēmēios* here refers to Sēmēa, Sîmi.

176. Hierapolis in North Syria is 110 miles east of the sea-coast, and 18 miles west of the Euphrates.

177. Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, §§ 12–13, 33, 48.

178. *Saturnalia*, xxiii.

179. This is the view of numismatists. See Hill [b], p. xci.

180. Cook, i. 586.

181. Cooke, p. 52.

182. Cassite period, *PBS* x. 338, l. 23; First Dynasty, *RA* xiii. 11.

183. *CT* xxv. 16, 24–7.

184. *CT* xxv. 16, 22. Adad of the city Hallaba, *MVAG*, 1908, p. 234, period eighth century B.C. According to most scholars Halman, which occurs earlier (ninth century), is Aleppo.

185. *MVAG*, 1908, pp. 236, 6.

186. Ebeling, *KAR* 142, iii. 24.

187. בזא in Zakir Aramaic stele, Pognon, pp. 156–178; Dhorme, *RA* viii. 98. The form Be-ir also occurs, Schroeder, *KAV* No. 72, ll. 10–11; *BA* ii. 567, l. 33.

188. Frank [b], pp. 30–32; Unger, in Ebert, *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, iv. 2. 416. See Fig. 51, fourth register, symbol on left.

189. *CT* xv. 15.

190. Jensen, *KB* vi. 46–51.

191. *matam la ušneš*, from nêšu, "to live."

192. Cooke, p. 159, ll. 2–3.

193. So is the name written correctly, Exod. xv. 2. Yahweh = Adonai in the other verses is a later and usual form, rendered Jehovah in the versions.

194. Numbers xxi. 14.

195. Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18.

196. So *RV* on 2 Sam. i. 18, but "bow" stands alone here and is probably the first word or title of a lost song.

197. Jashar, "the just," Accadian išāru is a title of Nergal in ^{d}Isharpadda, *OECT* i. 30, No. 8; Weidner [b], ii. 17, 14.

198. Driver and Gray, p. 37, ll. 2–3.

199. 1 Sam. ix. 17.

200. *Harvard Excavations at Samaria.* See Cowley, *JRAS*, 1920, p. 182; Driver, *ZATW*, 1928, pp. 7–25; Harper, No. 633, rev. 3.

201. There is no reason to suppose that there was an Israelitic dynasty at Hamath in Northern Syria at this period.

202. So Winckler [b], p. 102, l. 33; p. 178, l. 53. Without determinative for "god," p. 170, l. 8. A variant is I-lu-bi-'-di, 6, 23, i. 6., El of the Aramaic pantheon replaces Yāw, as in the Heb. Elyaqîm was changed to Yōyaqîm, 2 Kings xxiii. 34.

203. Title of a deity.

204. Cowley reads *passim* "Ya'u"; Ungnad [a], Jahû or Jahô.

205. Any attempt to derive the word from a triliteral root is misleading, for it is not the original name. Many take it to mean "he who causes to fall (fire from Heaven)"; see Eisler in *Orientalistische Studien F. Hommel gewidmet*, ii. 36. Margoliouth, pp. 20–21, believes that the name was known in Arabia and pronounced Yāh. Probably the word Jehovah arose from Yāw, Yahv, to carry the vowels of Adōnai, and has no other meaning.

206. Gressmann, No. 363.

207. Cooke, p. 158, l. 2; p. 173, l. 22.

208. *VAB* iv. 260, ll. 33–5.

209. Cooke, p. 171, No. 62, 1, 19; p. 180, No. 63, 1.

210. Harper, No. 633, 7. Another interpretation by Schiffer [b], i. 27.

211. See for Anat-Yāw or Astarte-Yāw, etc., at Gaza, Babelon, viii. 6, and p. 48, Nos. 327–8.

212. Beer, "Rescheph," in Pauly-Wissowa and Vincent, "Le Ba'al Cananéen de Beisan," *RB*, 1928, pp. 512–543, hold this view definitely.

213. Torrey, *JAOS* xxix. 192, "Land of Reshep."

214. Cooke, No. 30; Chabot, No. 1213.

215. *PSBA*, 1900, p. 271.

216. In the name $^{\text{ilu}}$Šulmānu-ašaridu = Shalmanassar.

217. Cooke, No. 7; Hoffmann, *ZA* xi. 246.

218. Schroeder, *KAV*, No. 63, 7.

219. Rost, *Tiglathpileser*, iii. 73, l. 10.

220. Gen. xiv. 18; Ps. lxxvi. 3, Shāl-ēm in Hebrew.

221. Langdon, in *SO* i. 97–100.

222. Knudtzon, p. 290, 16; 74, 31.

223. On coins of Aelia Capîtolina (Jerusalem), second century, A.D., the baetyl of the Sun-god, sometimes decorated by an eagle, symbol of the sun, is drawn on a chariot with four horses. This chariot symbol, etc., may be an importation from other Palestinian cities, or a direct survival of the cult of El-Shalman there.

224. Cooke, p. 361, No. 5, and Plate xi.

225. Vincent, *RB*, 1928, p. 531, n. 3, and Plate xxv.

226. See p. 30.

227. Langdon, *Bab.*, p. 144, Plate ii.

228. Vincent, *RB*, 1928, pp. 514–532.

229. Cooke, No. 1.

230. See *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 101, in this Series, vol. xii.

231. Also in Arabia, see p. 3.

232. The style of the script and the use of the ideogram ERI-KI before Si-du-ni are characteristic of the style at Sidon in this period.

233. Clercq, p. 386 *bis*, 386 *ter*, Plate xxxiii.

234. Vincent, Plate xxv. 6; Gressman, No. 348.

235. Vincent, p. 530.

236. *CIS* i. 91, 93, 90, 89, 94 = Cooke, Nos. 25, 27, 24.

237. *CIS* i. 89.

238. Cooke, No. 30.

239. The vowels are entirely uncertain.

240. See Langdon, *JRAS*, 1921, p. 573; Zimmern, *KAT* [3], p. 478; Macmillan, *BA* v. 583, l. 11, etc.

241. *CT* xxv. B 36, 30; xxxv. B 24.

242. So with Zimmern, after Jensen, *KAT*[3], p. 415, n. 2. Cronus of classical mythology, who was identified with El of the Phoenicians, is also called *umoris et frigoris deus*, "god of wet and cold."

243. My opinion is that the word should be read Mukkil, "the devourer."

244. The Israelites practised this sacrifice as late as the times of Jeremiah. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 35; 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

245. So first Rowe, *MJ* xix. 155.

246. Schroeder, *KAV* No. 63, col. ii. l. 37, and cf. No. 42, col. i, l. 32 = No. 43, col. i, l. 13.

247. Cooke, No. 10, ll. 2–3; *CIS* i. 8; at Carthage, 250, 3.

248. In cuneiform, time of Asarhaddon, Winckler [a], ii. 12, 14, has been read Mi-il-gi-šu by Winckler, and Mi-il-kar-ti by Johns, *MVAG*, 1908, p. 13. I collated this passage, *RA* xxvi. 191, 14. The reading is Mi-il-ik-qarti, where the Phoenician word for "city" is written with the Sumerian ideogram URU (âlu), "city."

249. At Shashmi near Tyre, Knudtzon, p. 203, l. 3; p. 123, l. 37.

250. *ibid.*, pp. 1324–5; p. 1563; Johns [b], p. 234, 4.

251. αμβροσιε πετρε, late Greek for *ambrosiae petrae*.

252 [Sa]memroumos, who is also called in Greek Hypsuranius. Ousōos is probably Esau, and the legend may be based on Jacob and Esau. Ousōos, however, is commonly identified with the ancient name of Tyre on the mainland, Uzu, Usū, Ušū. See Knudtzon, p. 1247.

253. See Baudissin, p. 172.

254. Josephus, *Ant.*, viii. 5. 3.

255. Berard, *BEFAR* lxvii. 254 ff.

256. In Cyprus, Babelon, Plate xix, 8, 11; xviii. 21; at Issus in Cilicia, Plate iii. 17.

257. *CIS* i. 246.

258. *JRAS* Centennial volume, 1924, p. 69, l. 8. See also below, p. 60.

259. *ibid.*, p. 104.

260. Baudissin, p. 285.

261. See Cooke, No. 10, l. 3, "Messengers of Melk-Astarte and the servants of Ba'al Hamman," from Ma'sub, near Tyre.

262. *CIS* pp. 247, l. 5; 248, l. 4; 249, l. 4.

263. Ṣêd-yathon son of Ger-Sêd, Cooke, No. 31.

264. *CIS* i. 236, l. 5; 818, l. 6.

265. Shamem, "Heavens," and rûm, "high," for Ba'al Shamen-rûm (Canaanitish), "High lord of the Heavens."

266. Greek translation of lost Phoenician names.

267. See the god Kulla of Babylonia.

268. For this temple and chariot see *Jahrbuch des kais. deutschen Arch. Inst.*, 1901, Plate v, and for the coin *R Arch*, 1903, p. 368, n. 3.

269. See E. Meyer, "Egalabal," in Roscher.

270. See p. 44.

271. Babelon, p. 322, No. 2201.

272. Called J by critics; Gen. x. 8–12.

273. Apparently an error for Kullaba, after Jensen.

274. ^{d}Pisangunuku (usually Nergal) is the name of Ninurta at Kullab. So restore *CT* xxv. Pl. 14, 23.

275. The name has never been explained successfully.

276. King [a], p. 257, 9.

277. Tadmar occurs as early as the twelfth century.

278. Also in the Aramaic inscriptions the name Bêl is often written Bôl at Palmyra.

279. Malak-Bêl is the name peculiar to the tribe Banu Taimî. Dussaud, *R Arch* i. 206, n. 4 (1904).

280. Zeus Keraunios or Keraunos is the translation of Ba'al-Shamin, "Lord of the Heavens," which is certainly a title of the Thunder-god, and not of Shamash, *ZDMG* xv. 617.

281. So Dussaud, *RA* i. 144 (1903).

282. Cf. King [b], p. 17, col. vi. 3; Langdon [f], p. 228, 43.

283. Berger, Clermont-Ganneau, Levy, Lidzbarski, Cooke.

284. This inferred by the title *Sukkallu*, and by his being son of Bêl-Marduk.

285. Levy, *REJ* xliii.

286. So Hoffmann, *ZA* xi. 247.

287. Winckler [a], ii. 12, l. 10; *RA* xxvi. 191. l. 10.

288. Lidzbarski [b], p. 240, as *NPr*.

289. Used as a *NPr*, king of the Elamites, Tallquist [a], p. 183, eighth century, B.C.

290. Qaušgabri is the name of a king of Edom in the seventh century, Tallquist [a], p. 184. The deity is surely Arabian, and found only in Arabic *NPra*, as Qais, Qûs.

291. Assuming that *malak* is not a noun formation for "king," but stands for *mala'k*, "messenger," the view accepted above, the *NPr* Ba'al-maluku at Arwad in Northern Phoenicia (Streck, ii. 20, 84, 92) would be a case of vowel assimilation, *malaku*>*maluku*. The alterna-

tive view that *malak* and *maluk* have the same meaning as *malik* must be considered. See Zimmern, *KAT*[3] pp. 471–2.

292. Waddington, No. 1875a, cf. Dussaud, *R Arch* i. 144 (1903).

293. Layard, *MAIBL* xx. part 2, Plates i, ii; Dussaud, *R Arch* i. 376 ff.

294. It is this side which has the Palmyrene inscription.

295. Beneath is the Latin inscription *Soli sanctissimo*, etc.

296. Dussaud has undoubtedly given the correct interpretation of this monument, *loc. cit.*

297. Layard, Plate iii.

298. Adad as son of Enlil, Langdon [g], p. 280, l. 15.

299. See Langdon *JSOR* v. 100.

300. In the treaty of Esarhaddon with the king of Tyre, Winckler [a], ii. 12.

301. Euting, *Berlin Academy*, p. 671, No. 2 (1885).

302. Or "lord of eternity."

303. Cooke, p. 296, n. 1.

304. Near Tyre, Cooke, No. 9.

305. *CIS* ii. 163, 176.

306. Cooke, No. 39.

307. Dussaud, *Rapport* in *NAMS* x. 173, 397, etc.

308. S. Lidzbarski [a], i. 243 ff.

309. *KBo* i. 1, rev. 54; i. 2, rev. 30; 3, rev. 23.

310. *bêl šamê*, *KBo* i. 2, rev. 18; i. 1, rev. 40.

311. Cooke, No. 122.

312. See Cumont's cautious article, "Balsamin," in Pauly-Wissowa.

313. Cowley, pp. 204 ff.

314. Conybeare, in Charles, ii. 725.

315. The insertion of *h* is explained by some scholars as due to analogy with biliteral plurals with lengthened stem, Brockelmann, i. 455.

316. Original *tighir*, *RA* xxii. 46, No. 1, rev. 1, 2.

317. Langdon, *OECT* vii. 5, No. 33.

318. *RA* xvi. 49 ff.

319. See p. 44.

320. Cooke, No. 61, l. 2; 62, l. 22; p. 165.

321. Nielsen, *MVAG*, 1916, p. 256; 1909, p. 367.

322. Called "Lord of Gebal" on an Egyptian monument, where he is represented as Aman (Sun-god) with the Lady of Gebal as Isis, *CRAI*, 1921, p. 165.

323. Genesis xiv, 18–22. See p. 45.

324. If this word is based on a Phoenician plural for "gods," it must be assumed that the triliteral form *eloah* belongs also to that Semitic dialect. It is the regular Hebrew plural. Aramaic *elhin*.

325. Shaddai is peculiar to Hebrew and of unknown derivation. LXX "All mighty." Shaddai in El-shaddai may be compared with *NPr Ilu-šadû-ni*, "God is our mountain," i.e. "defence"; Sin-šadû-ni, "Sin is my mountain." In Assyrian Šadû-nādin-ahi (Johns [b], p. 446), Šadû stands for a deity, and Šaddai, "My mountains," "my defence," would be a title of El, or any deity, borrowed from Semitic nomenclature.

326. *CT* xxiv. 31, ll. 74–5.

327. Craig, *RT* pp. 57, l. 21; 58, l. 24.

328. Thureau-Dangin [c], p. 67, l. 26.

329. On a bust of Osorkon I, *Syria*, vi. 109.

330. Hill [a], Phoenicia, p. 94; Cooke, p. 350.

331. Hill [a], p. 96.

332. *ibid.*, p. 93; Babelon, p. 194.

333. Cooke, No. 3, 1.

334. Paraphrase of the text, which has always Cronos not El. See Cory, p. 15.

335. Meissner, Figs. 15, 16.

336. Contenau, *Bab.*, ix; *Tablettes de Kerkouk*, p. 78, No. 128.

337. Zimmern, in Frank [b], p. 39, and Fig. 51.

338. Contenau, pp. 70–71.

339. Pss. xvii. 8, xxxvi. 7.

340. Ruth ii. 12. See Pss. lvii. 1, lxi. 4.

341. ἄρπη, Sanchounyathon, in Cory, p. 10.

342. See n. 335.

343. *De Iside et Osiride*, Chap. xii ff.

344. See p. 58.

345. Hill [a], p. 96; Babelon, p. 194.

346. 2 Kings xvii. 31.

347. So Levy's interpretation, *R Arch* iv. 387 (1904).

348. This phrase occurs only in the literature from Boghozkeui.

349. Cooke, No. 33, l. 6, elim Ba'al Ṣidon, "the god Ba'al of Ṣidon"; p. 91, n. 1, elim Is. In Assyria ilāni, "gods," for "god," is used, Harper, No. 301, l. 7.

350. *KBo* iv. 10, rev. 3; v. 1, obv. 56.

351. Habiru in the mixed Mitanni Assyrian population of Arrapha in the Cassite period had apparently the meaning "wanderer," "immigrant"; for men and women with good Assyrian names had this title then, and often sold themselves into slavery. See Chiera, *JAOS* xlvii. 44.

352. So Damascius and Philo.

353. i.e., a name for Eshmun, "the physician."

354. Langdon [h], p. 34.

355. *De dea Syria*, §§ 19–27.

356. *NPr* Eshmun-adōn, Cooke, p. 55, 4; but Eshmun-adōnî, p. 60, 1.

357. Cooke, p. 109.

358. Langdon [g], p. 324, ll. 4–5.

359. So Damascius, see Baudissin, p. 339.

360. Frazer, *Adonis*, pp. 27 ff. Baudissin, pp. 345 ff., rejects the theory that Adonis of Gebal and of Esmun are identical. I agree with Barton and Dussaud on this vital question. The argument that Adonis is never represented as a hunter and other special attributes of Adonis of the Lebanons are not fundamental and are surely due to local peculiarities.

361. *Syria*, viii. 120.

362. *ib.*, iv. 185 ff.; *Monuments Piot*, xxv. 248.

363. *Mu-lu-mu*, "my lord," or *mu-lu-zu-ne*, "your lord," Langdon [g], pp. 318, l. 20; 320, l. 8.

364. Baudissin, pp. 74, 94–97, 359.

365. *Epistola*, lxviii. *ad Paulinum.*

366. This must be taken with reserve.

367. Driver, *ZATW* xlvi. 24, suggests that Yāw is an ejaculation, which is probably right.

368. Baudissin, p. 333.

369. Babelon, Plate xxxii. 23. See also Hill [a], Plate lxiii. 7 and p. cxv.

370. Boissier, [a], p. 112, 8.

371. Langdon [h], pp. 114 ff.

372. *MJ* xvii. 299.

373. Numbers xxi. 4–10.

374. 2 Kings xviii. 4.

375. Legrain, *PBS* xv. 14; see *CAH*, i. 405.

376. S. Smith in Gadd-Legrain, i. No. 275.

377. *nagir* ^{d}*Enlil*, *CT* xxiv. 6, l. 22; 22, l. 120; *RA* xx. 98.

378. Thureau-Dangin [a], i. Nos. 1167, 1316.

379. For Semitic names in the period of Ur and Isin, see Legrain, p. 111.

380. é-bá-ša-(mil)-^{d}Da-gan (ki), Legrain, p. 111; *Bab.*, viii. 70.

381. Scheil [b], face A 5, 8; 11, 15.

382. On names of this class, see Bauer, p. 72.

383. This Phoenician writing occurs once in late Assyrian, in the *NPr* Arad-^{d}Da-gu-na, Harper, No. 357, rev. 5.

384. Literally "house of the mountain," place of ordeals in Arallu. Schroeder [b], 42, i. 22–25.

385. *ZA* xxi. 248.

386. *BA* vi. p. 5, pp. 28, 34; *RA* iv. 85, l. 18; Thureau-Dangin [b], p. 238.

387. See p. 39.
388. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xvi. 150.
389. Langdon, in Weidner's *Archiv*, i. 6, l. 28.
390. 1 Sam. iv. 5.
391. Oesterley in Charles, i. 106.
392. See p. 46.
393. Knudtzon, No. 1560.
394. G. F. Moore, "Dagon," in *EBi.*
395. Hill [a], Plate i. 1–10; ii. 30, 31; Babelon, Plate xxii. 1–6.
396. Hill [a], Plate cxliv. The "fish-man" type of deity is common on seals of the late Assyrian period, and represents Aquarius.
397. For this monument and its true meaning, see Gressmann, ii. No. 525. This is a fish deity, as the three horns on the cowl prove, and is a minor type of Enki, Ea, Oannes, the Water-god of Sumerian mythology, Zimmern, *ZA* xxxv. 153, n. 2. Menant, ii. 51–54, was chiefly responsible for introducing Dagon as a Fish-god into current accounts of religion.
398. For a study of this monument see Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xviii. 172 f.; Frank [a], pp. 5, 44 ff.
399. Woolley, *JRAS*, 1926, p. 693 and Plate ix, No. 1.
400. Some kind of ritualistic object.
401. Text in Ebeling, No. 298, obv. 15–20.
402. Cory, p. 31.
403. See p. 56.

Chapter II

1. Langdon [i].
2. *ibid.*, Nos. 9, 29, 68, 97.
3. *ibid.*, No. 45.
4. *ibid.*, No. 68.
5. For early sign see *PSBA*, 1914, pp. 280–1.
6. Langdon [h], p. 120; Scheil, *Recueil des travaux*, xxxviii, *Nouvelles notes*, No. 8, p. 5.
7. Langdon [h], p. 118.
8. *mušlaḫḫu.*
9. But once in Thureau-Dangin [e], p. 155, l. 16, never in scholastic texts.
10. See *JSOR* v. 100.
11. Deimel, ii. 9–10.
12. See p. 65.
13. Langdon [i], Plates 2, No. 7; 9, No. 29; 8, No. 26; 7, No. 25; 30, No. 114.

14. Rawlinson, ii. 59, A 1. This cannot be explained away by supposing that the scribe has introduced an *eme-sal* form, as Zimmern argues, *Berichten der König. Säch. Gesellschaft*, lxiii. 85.

15. See Langdon, *Legend of Etana*, Aa, l. 27 and note.

16. Kugler, *ibid.*, *Ergänz.*, p. 213; Weidner [c], p. 97.

17. Thureau-Dangin [c], p. 85, l. 30; p. 122, l. 15; p. 123, l. 31.

18. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 307, obv. 33. For lowest Heaven as a plane of the planets, see Langdon, *Legend of Etana*, p. 46, note x.

19. Charles, ii. 304.

20. *ibid.*, ii. 432–442.

21. See L. Heuzey, *RA* v. 131. That great interpreter of sculpture identified the god with overflowing vase with Ea, because of the seal, *ibid.*, fig. 6, where the fish-ram and the fish-man support the figure of the deity. The fish-ram (Capricorn) is undoubtedly Ea. Heuzey took the fish-man for Oannes (Ea). Anu with overflowing vase stands on the back of a dragon, *DP* i. 177, fig. 383. This is proved to be Anu by *RA* xxi. 196, symbol No. 4, where Anu stands on the same monster. Koldewey, p. 273, is of the same opinion.

22. The astronomical name of Aquarius ^{mul}Gu-la, "great star," is identical with the regular title of Anu, "god Gu-la." The swallow star (Simmah), or Western Aquarius, belongs to the "way of Anu."

23. *MJ* xviii. 84–5.

24. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 196, rev. ii. 10–35.

25. Ishtar has this title often, Langdon [b], pp. 43, 95.

26. "Calf at the teat."

27. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 196, rev. i. 4–8.

28. Isaiah vi. 1–7; Ebeling, *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin*, xiv, Heft 3, p. 66.

29. *PBS* x. 336, n. 5.

30. Ward, Nos. 129, 203.

31. Gudea, Cyl. A, 11, 20.

32. *ibid.*, 10, 2.

33. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 375, p. 319, ll. 44–9.

34. *PBS* x. 283.

35. Psalm cxlvii. 15.

36. S. Holmes, in Charles, i. 565.

37. *PBS* x. 150, 284.

38. See Nötscher, pp. 56–60.

39. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 375, obv. ii, 40–3 = G. Reisner, *SBH* p. 130, ll. 32–5.

40. Texts by E. T. Harper, *BA* ii. 467–475; Rawlinson, iv. 14, no. 1; *CT* xv. 43.

41. The fragments do not contain this part of the legend. There

was a long episode concerning Lugalbanda, the nest of Zû, his wife, and offspring in the Hashur mountains. See the Sumerian tablets, *PBS* v. 16, 17.

42. On bas-reliefs of Maltai, north of Nineveh, are figures of seven deities; the third represents Enlil standing on a winged lion with horns, *RA* xxi. 187.

43. *CT* xvii. 42, ll. 15–22; Thompson [a], ii. 145; Jensen, *KB* vi.^{2} 2–3.

44. On Mummu, the word of Ea, see article " Word " in *ERE* xii. 749 ff.

45. *Shurpu*, iv. 70. In this *rôle* his title is Nudimmud, Nadimmud.

46. Dhorme [a], p. 96; for Ea as creator of man, *ibid.*, p. 134, l. 27.

47. Weissbach, pp. 32–35.

48. *JRAS*, 1918, p. 437; Marduk, Son of Ea, is also the Mummu, Langdon [a], p. 200, n. 5; cf. *ZA* xxxvii. 90, n. 3.

49. S. Holmes in Charles, i. 549. On the doctrine of Mummu see *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 433–49.

50. i.e., water as the first principle.

51. King [e], i. 201.

52. The throne of Ea supports a tortoise in King [b], Plates 1, lxiii, lxxvi. In Pl. lxxxiii his symbol is identical with those of Anu and Enlil. In *DP* ii. 90, 5, the symbol of Ea, fig. 50, is named *mum* (*mu*) *u suḫurmašu*, " Mummu and skate-goat."

53. Wife of Ea.

54. *CT* xvi. 2, ll. 65–85.

55. " Hymn of Eridu," *AJSL* xxxix. 163.

56. See, however, the myth of Dilmun, pp. 190 ff.

57. E. Nassouhi, *MAG* iii. 23, l. 5; Langdon [a], p. 190, n. 3. A scribe wrote to the king that a founder had cast fifty *kuribu*, Harper, 1194, 3.

58. Note the title of the goddess Mah, Ninsikilla, Rawlinson, ii. 54, no. 2, 7; King, *Catalogue*, *Supplement*, No. 51, 10.

59. See Langdon [d], Pl. 35, no. 1, and pp. 73–5. Also Koldewey, pp. 271–3, identified these figurines with Ninmah.

60. *CT* xvii. 42, ll. 1–13.

61. Temple of Marduk in Babylon.

62. Title of Ea.

63. *CT* xiii. 35, ll. 10–36, 21; Dhorme [a], pp. 84–7.

64. *Šašuru*.

65. *CT* xv. 49, rev. i (iv), ll. 1–14; Dhorme [a], p. 138.

66. *lullû* or *lilû* is the Sumerian loan-word employed for " man " in these myths, and is not used for " man " elsewhere. The word seems to mean " feeble one."

67. Langdon, *Paradis*, pp. 36–9. This is Tablet iii of the myth,

inuma ilu awelum of the old version; Clay, *Morgan* iv, is Tablet ii. The Assyrian version, *CT* xv. 49, is Tablet i of that edition.

68. *ZA* xvi. 178, l. 20.

69. For the pictograph see Langdon [i], p. 15, No. 105.

70. For the Sumerian hymn of Nintur and her son Ašširgi at Kěsh, see *OECT* i. 48–59; of Ninhursag and Lil at Kěsh and Adab, Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xix. 175–185; cf. Langdon [a], pp. 215 f.

71. *RA* xix. 175–185.

72. Thompson [c], p. 12, ll. 20–35.

73. So restore, *ibid.*, col. 5, ll. 39, 40; col. 6, ll. 16, 17; Plate 9, col. 3, l. 48; from Plate 11, l. 17, and Philadelphia Tablet, rev. iii, ll. 29–30. Gilgamish, son of Ninsun, Pl. 56, 57.

74. That this was the symbol of Ninurta as Zamama, the special name for the War-god, is proved by the monument, *DP* i. 168, where it is inscribed.

75. Written ^{d}*Maš*, King, *PSBA*, 1913, p. 76.

76. V. Scheil, in *DP* ii. 90, ll. 20–22.

77. Scheil-Legrain, in *DP* xiv. 35. On Morgan, *DP* i. 168, the pillar has no eagle, but the name Shuqamuna.

78. Lion ? rather than panther (cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xvi. 137). See King [b], Plates 1, lxxviii.

79. *DP* ii. 91, l. 24. See note 97 below.

80. Rawlinson, ii. 59, A 6–7. For *umunesiga* = Ninurta, see Weissbach, Plate 13, l. 29, but as title of Nergal, E. Weidner, *AKF* ii. 79, l. 8.

81. Vase of Entemena, Heuzey, *Catalogue des antiquités chaldéenes*, No. 218. On the stéle des vautours Ningirsu holds this emblem in his hand, over a cage filled with dead enemies, *ibid.*, no. 10.

82. Ward, No. 63. Location certain by the name of the god Shara.

83. Langdon [b], Pl. 22, no. 16, and p. 83. The animals are not asses, but stags or antelopes, as a new seal, in the Field Museum, from Kish proves, Mackay, Part 2, Plate vi, No. 7.

84. Ward, p. 60.

85. A seal from Shittab in Kazallu, east of the Tigris, has an eagle grasping two lions erect, heads, *en face*, Menant, *Catalogue de la Haye*, Plate 1.

86. *CT* xxiv. 41, 65; xxv. 12, 3 and 19.

87. E. Pottier in *DP* xiii. 42, figs. 137–8; Plates 28, 31, 34, 35.

88. Hall and Woolley, Plate 6.

89. *DP* xiii, Plate 18.

90. Contenau [b], Nos. 84, 293, 314, 322; Ward, Nos. 864, 865.

91. Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvii.

92. Genesis i. 2, 3.

93. For the eagle on coins of Jerusalem see p. 388, note 223, and p. 117.

94. See Langdon [g], p. 19. On the eagle in late West Semitic religion see R. Dussaud, " L'aigle symbole du Dieu solaire," *R Arch.* i. 134–143 (1903).

95. Wife of Ninurta.

96. i.e., the foreign lands.

97. See p. 115.

98. *asakku*, a title of Ninurta, several times in this epic. See S. Geller, *ATU* p. 280, l. 5; p. 289, l. 5.

99. Somewhere in Tablets vi, viii. Geller, *ATU* i. 288. rev. 3–5.

100. Temple of Ninurta in Nippur.

101. For Ishtar as goddess of Fate who spins the cord of life, see *JRAS*, 1930, p. 28. Here Bau " severs the cord," surely parallel to the Greek myth of Atropos who cuts the threads of life. But " to sever the cord " here seems to be used by synecdoche for " to determine fate."

102. Langdon [g], p. 252, l. 13.

103. Here, as in other addresses to the stone in question, various species of it are added.

104. Temple of Ningirsu at Lagash.

105. On the Parentalia or feast for the souls of the dead, see *Essays in Modern Theology*, dedicated to C. A. Briggs, pp. 141–161.

106. This is clear from the fragment, *KAR* No. 363.

107. The fragments of this series were edited by F. Hrozný, *MVAG*, 1906, pp. 164–179; duplicates have since been found. A fragment of the Sumerian original which contained the entire epic on one tablet is in H. Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to* NIN-IB (= *BE* 29)[1], No. 9. The obverse contains a few lines of Tablet i, obv. 20 ff., and the reverse has a few lines from the top of Tablet iii, reverse. I agree with Hrozný in placing K. 8531 and Rm. 126 in this series. The contents seem to prove this, but he was wrong in including K. 38. See below. A duplicate of K. 8531, or Tablet ii, is in Ebeling, *KAR* 12, and *KAR* 18 restores some parts of Tablet iii.

108. *CT* xxiv. 7, l. 23; xxix. 47, K. 7145, 7; Rawlinson, ii. 59, A 11. See also Langdon [a], p. 158, l. 55 and var. *ga-ša-an-kar-nun-na PBS* x. 304, l. 4. The last passage would naturally be taken to prove that this deity is a goddess, but female barbers are unknown, and the gender seems to be masculine in the epic.

109. Gudea, Cyl. B, 7, 12–8, 9.

110. *ibid.*, 13, 18–14, 7.

111. See B. Landsberger, *ZA* xxxvii. 93, n. 2, on S. Smith's *Historical Texts*, p. 86, l. 21.

112. Cyl. A. 26, 24; Langdon [g], p. 86, 140.

113. See pp. 119–124. Hrozný, *Ninrag*, pp. 12–15.

114. *CT* xxv. 14, ll. 17–22.

115. This apparently refers to the dragons of chaos, Zû, Mush-rushshû, etc.

116. Langdon [g], pp. 251–5.

117. See F. Hommel, *Bab.*, ii. 60.

118. Cyl. A. 25, ll. 24–26.

119. Langdon [b], p. 48, l. 22 = [g], p. 76, l. 1.

120. Cyl. A. 26, l. 6.

121. See pp. 118 and 128.

122. See Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, pp. 263 ff. (in this Series).

123. *ibid.*, Plate 39.

124. See p. 128.

125. Cf. Langdon [g], p. 208, l. 5, with [a], p. 124, l. 120, and p. 144, l. 121.

126. Ward, pp. 167–248.

127. See pp. 113–4.

128. *CT* xxv. 13, l. 27. As husband of Gula (wife of Ninurta), *CT* xxv. 1, l. 23. But as son of Gula, Langdon [g], p. 156, l. 38.

129. Deimel, ii. Nos. 5, rev. iv. 3; 6 obv. iii. 5, with *Nikilim-áš-bar*; No. 1, iv. 5.

130. Rawlinson, ii. 60, A 24.

131. Langdon [g], p. 66, ll. 10–13.

132. Clay, *YOS* i. 53, l. 170.

133. So Halevy, *RS*, xiii. 180; xix. 340. It cannot be argued that *En-nammasht* is a hybrid of Sumerian and Semitic, for *nammashtû* (*PBS* x. 214, Col. iii. 1) is probably Sumerian. This explanation is impossible if the title *anu-ašat*, var. of ^{d}NIN-IB is right. Langdon in *SO* (Helsingfors, 1925), i. 95–100.

134. See p. 60.

135. Knudtzon, p. 1573. Schroeder, *OLZ*, 1915, p. 295, endeavoured to read Beth- Lahama, and identify this city with Bethlehem, south of Jerusalem. Dhorme, *RB*, 1908, p. 517, and 1909, p. 26, reads Beth-Anat for both cities.

136. Knudtzon, *ibid.*, No. 84, l. 33.

137. Psalm lxxiv. 14.

138. Isaiah xxvii. 1.

139. Job ix. 13.

140. Isaiah li. 9.

141. *ZA* xxxiii. 129, l. 46. On the other hand the reading of the more common name DI-TAR as *Sá-kut* is uncertain; more probable is *di-dar* or *di-kur*.

142. Langdon [g], p. 199, ll. 13–16 = p. 207, ll. 14–21.

143. In the treaty of Asarhaddon with Bâlu of Tyre read As-tar-tu, *RA* xxvi. 191, l. 19 (after my collation).

144. i.e., Enlil.

145. Name of the lower world.

146. King [c], No. 27; Lutz, *PBS* i. 2, No. 119.

147. The existing fragments are edited by Erich Ebeling, "Der Akkadische Mythus vom Pestgotte Era," *Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung*, ii. 1. An earlier edition of the fragments of the Ashurbanipal library, by E. J. Harper, *BA* ii. 425–437; P. Jensen, *KB* vi. 1. 56–73.

148. Apparently synonym for Enlil or Marduk.

149. *KAR* No. 321, obv. 1–17 (restored by C. J. Weir, *JRAS*, 1930, pp. 41–2) as far as rev. 6.

150. See p. 103 and Langdon, *OECT* ii. 4; Onnes the Annedotus.

151. See Zimmern, *ZA* xxxv. 151–4; S. Smith, *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 695–701.

152. A dragon of chaos. This is the only reference to Nergal-Irra as the protagonist of the gods in this famous myth. It proves his original identity with his brother Ninurta.

153. Read *ḫa-bi-niš*, var. K. 2755, *ḫa-bi-in-niš*.

154. Supposed to be the Lebanons.

155. Refers perhaps to the exile of Kashtiliash, King of Babylon, taken to Ashur by Tukulti-Ninurta.

156. C. F. Jean, *RA* xxi. 93–104.

157. Zimmern [d], No. 54.

158. *KAR* No. 298, obv. 21–5; Zimmern [d], Nos. 45, 46.

159. Craig, ii. 13.

160. Title of Arallû. See Langdon [a], p. 71, n. 16.

161. E. Ebeling in *AKF* i. 93.

162. See *Bab.*, ii. 144.

163. See *JRAS*, 1928, 843–48.

164. So A. T. Clay, *YOS* i. Nos. 46, 50, 51; Dougherty, *YOS* vi. 226. No. 47 omits the *ḫitpu* on the twenty-eighth day, and on the fourteenth adds a ceremony of the kettle-drum. No. 48, a month of thirty days, has *ḫitpu* on the sixth and thirteenth, or a day earlier. No. 49 has *ḫitpu* on the sixth, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-seventh days. C. E. Keiser, *Nies Collection*, i. 167, has *ḫitpu* on the sixth, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth, and a ceremony for the kettle-drum on the seventh.

165. Weidner [b], pp. 32, l. 54; 52, l. 40; cf. p. 46, l. 46.

166. See Chwolsohn, ii. 22.

167. See Langdon [c], p. 99, n. 9.

168. All references to this epic are taken from Langdon [a].

169. *CT* 50, No. 47406, and *BA* v. 655.

170. See *RA* xxiv. 147–8.

171. For details and literature on the *zagmuk* of Marduk see Lang-

don [a], pp. 20–32; S. A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akitu Festival*, Copenhagen, 1926.

172. King [d], ii. 87–91.

173. See also King [b], Plates 44, 53, 65, 76, 90. *Ibid.*, Plate 34, the symbol on the table appears to be a stone pillar.

174. *RA* xvi. 136, and Plate 1.

175. Sir H. Rawlinson, *JRAS* xviii. The only certainty about Rawlinson's thesis is that the first stage was black.

176. See Thureau-Dangin [c], p. 141, ll. 370–1.

177. See Kugler, pp. 6, 218. Cf. the title of Mercury = Nabu, ^{d}*gū-ud*, with *gū-ud* = *ṭidnu ša šamê*, "tablet of the Heavens."

178. Charles, ii. 443.

179. See R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchttafeln*, p. 19, l. 42, and note. For index of passages, C. Wessely, *DWAW* xxxvi. 172; lxii. 52, l. 965.

180. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 227, rev. iii. 8–24.

181. See Knudtzon, pp. 968–75.

182. *CT* xvii. 42, ll. 26 ff.

Chapter III

1. Attendants of Nergal. See p. 138.

2. The souls of men had not yet been permitted to enter Arallû.

3. i.e., the land of the dead.

4. Attributed to the pre-Sargonic period by L. Legrain, *MJ* xix. 393. But see the account of its discovery by Hilprecht, p. 337.

5. About 6½ miles in ordinary Babylonian measurement.

6. Texts, transcription, and translation of this poem by S. Langdon, *The Legend of Etana and the Eagle*, Paris, 1931.

7. For variants of the Alexander myth, with critical examination of the texts and literature, see Gabriel Millet, "L'Ascension d'Alexandre," *Syria*, iv. (1923) 83–133, a work not yet completed.

Chapter IV

1. The Amarna tablet is published by O. Schroeder, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, xii. 194, and lastly edited by Knudtzon, No. 356. Most recent translation by E. Ebeling in Gressmann, pp. 143–146, which see for the Assyrian fragments. Transcription and translation by P. Jensen, *KB* vi. 1, 92–101; Dhorme [a], pp. 148–161. A discussion of the texts and theology in Langdon [e], pp. 78–100. A new copy of the Scheil text now in A. T. Clay, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, Pl. iv. and *Morgan Library*, Vol. iv. No. 3.

2. *ud-sar* ^{d}*A-num* ^{d}*En-lil-lá*, S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, Pl. ix. 12; B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, in *ZA* xxxvii. 92.

3. *ZA* xvi. 170, ll. 24–5, restored by *PBS* I^{2}, 113, ll. 58–9.

4. Read *šuma lu-uzkur*, not *mu-lu-mu*, or, as corrected by all editors, *kul-lu-mu*.

5. *Zēr amelûti*, said of Adapa, Langdon [e], p. 96, 12.

6. See R. Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, *Blatt* 4, and pp. 29 and 68; Langdon [d], p. 91 and Pl. xlv; Gressmann, Nos. 478 a, b.

7. See *RA* xiv. 194; *Délégation en Perse*, i. 168.

8. See Weidner [c], p. 94.

9. The theory was developed at length by Paul Toscane in *DP*, Vol. xii, where he finds the serpent and the Tree of Life in the geometrical designs of the early painted ware of Susa. Apparently Edmont Pottier, who edited the early Susa pottery in Vol. xiii of the same series, disagrees with Toscane and does not make any reference to his theory in the preceding volume.

10. i.e., to the house of the Water-god, the Apsû.

11. Read KU (di-ib) = *ṣabātu*, A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Texts*, No. 53, l. 132; with phonetic prefixes *iṣ-ṣa-KU-at*. In the preceding line, restore *a-ma-ta da-mi-iq-ta*.

12. King [b], Pls. xliii; xlviii; lxvi; lxxxi; xix; *RA* xvi. Pl. ii; 1 Raw. Pl. 70.

13. *ibid.*, Pls. lxxvii, xci; *DP* i. Pl. xiv; vi. Pl. 9. See this type with inscription, ^{d}Gu-la, on a Susa boundary stone, Hinke [a], p. 105; *RA* xiv. 194.

14. *ZA* xxxvi. 211.

15. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 71, obv. 3–6.

16. In the original document the name Eve (Hawwā) did not occur.

17. A citation from one of these rituals on p. 276. See also T. H. Meek, *BA* x. 1–5.

18. So Paul Haupt, *ZA* xxx. 66, and R. C. Thompson, *Assyrian Herbal*, p. 46, but Thompson retracts this identification, p. 262, n. 2.

19. Harper, No. 771, 1–7.

20. Stele from Seripul, Gressmann, No. 254. On the botanical identification see Boissier, *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, Geneva, 1930, p. 7.

21. It may be referred to in the early document, Genesis xiii. 10, as the " Garden of Yāw," mentioned also by Post-exilic Isaiah li. 3.

22. Ezekiel xxviii. 12–19.

Chapter V

1. See Shimtu, p. 21.

2. See *RA* xxii. 32.

3. In this discussion Tibir is used wherever the text indicates this reading. Tibir is probably the original of Tubal-(Cain), Genesis iv. 22.

4. The verb employed here corresponds to the Accadian *banû*, used of Enki's creating the first patrons of the arts from clay. See F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, No. 12.

5. Title of Tammuz.

6. To emphasize this statement the scribe of a small Tablet, duplicate of lines 21–41, has written it also on the edge of the Tablet, unless he had omitted it in the text and wished to indicate its insertion in this manner. See Langdon, *BE* xxxi. No. 15.

7. The first part of this poem from Nippur is published by G. A. Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 8, and Pls. xxxvi–xxxvii, and in Langdon [e], Pls. vii–viii, with transcription and translation, pp. 135–148. E. Chiera has discovered that this is only part of a longer poem, written on a large four (or six?) column Tablet, and he has also found new duplicates and identified two fragments already published by S. Langdon and H. Radau as part of the same composition. See Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, Upland, Pa. (1924), No. 25, and pp. 26–32.

8. *OECT* i. 39–42.

9. The text and English edition by the writer in *PBS* x. part 1, and later corrected French edition in Langdon [e]. Interpretations have been given by many other scholars and the literature on this poem is great. It has been collected by E. F. Weidner [d], Nos. 984–1012.

10. This name means "the pure queen," and is applied to various goddesses. Here it probably refers to the wife of Nabû, or of Nesū, or to Gula-Bau, wife of Ninurta, also called Nesū, or Lisī. In line 11 of this column Ninsikilla, or Ereššikilla, stands for Damkina, wife of Enki.

11. *é-gú-kár-ra*. Cf. E. Chiera, *PBS* viii. No. 169, col. ii. l. 7. The quay of Eridu is mentioned in *AJSL* xxxix. 166, l. 2.

12. Read *é-suḫur-e* = *bit šaḫuru*.

13. For Shamash in the lower world, see *CT* xvi. Pl. 46, l. 195.

14. See pp. 190–3.

15. Morris Jastrow, G. A. Barton, P. Maurus Witzel. I am convinced that my interpretation was wrong here, and chiefly by the similar Accadian text edited by P. Dhorme, *RA* vii. 18, col. ii. 2, and by the Sumerian myth edited by myself in *RA* xix. 67–77. See especially *Eannatum a-šag-ga šu-dúg-ga* ^{d}*Ningirsu-ka-da*, "E. whose seed was

poured into the womb by Ningirsu," *Stela of the Vultures*, obverse v. 1–3, Thureau-Dangin [e], p. 10. Also Gudea's birth in natural manner by the goddess Gatumdug, in Gudea, Cylinder A, 3, 8, is another example of this myth.

16. Compare the revelation of Enki to Damkina concerning Ibik-Ishtar, "the creation of Enki," *ZA* xxxi. 92, ll. 8–10.

17. On *uš . . . zi*, see *uš-šig, sik*, *AJSL* xxxix. 166, l. 5; *JRAS* 1925, p. 494, l. 23.

18. Enlil issued the same order when he lay with Ninlil, *RA* xix. 73, ll. 32–3.

19. Epithet of Enki's wife.

20. *lal* = *wašāru;* see Langdon [a], p. 80, n. 1.

21. Cf. *RA* xix. 74, l. 43, and *PBS* x. 192, l. 7.

22. Identified with the poppy by some scholars.

23. *giš-mal* is not the sign for weapon (*šita*) in the period of this text.

24. *RA* xix. 76.

Chapter VI

1. The evidence has been popularly presented by Harold Peake, *The Flood*, London, 1930, pp. 95–112. See also *Illustrated London News*, 1930, Feb. 8, pp. 206–7.

2. See Langdon, *OECT* ii. 9, n. 5.

3. British Museum, K. 4874, l. 13.

4. See *OECT* ii. 8, n. 3.

5. Berossus, as preserved by Eusebius. See Cory, pp. 26–9.

6. See the article "Puranas," by F. E. Pargiter in *ERE* x. 447–55, and *OECT* ii. 26–7.

7. See *OECT* ii. 2–3.

8. See p. 38.

9. The original text was published by A. Poebel, *PBS* v. No. 1, with translation, *PBS* iv. 9–70. Translation by E. Ebeling, in Gressmann, p. 198, and by Ungnad [f], p. 121.

10. See S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, pp. 88–9; E. Ebeling, *Keilinschrift-Texte Religiösen Inhalts*, No. 111.

11. In any case mountains in the far west, and not *mons Masius* in Armenia. Hardly to be connected with Masis in the Alexander Legend, E. A. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, p. 168, l. 101. The following passages are taken from the Epic of Gilgamish, Tablet IX.

12. End of Tablet IX, col. ii.

13. Read probably *ul inamdin-šu* [*ana amari*] *qa-ab-sa arkat-su*, after col. v. 34.

14. Bruno Meissner, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1902, No. 1. Thompson [e], p. 43.

15. A. Ungnad, *Gilgamesch Epos*, p. 27. Also *Zi-du-ri*, J. Friedrich, in *ZA* xxxix. 22, l. 9.

16. The passage is first addressed to Gilgamish by Siduri, Tablet X, col. i, end entirely lost; by Ursanapi, X, col. iii. 2–7, where most of the lines are preserved in fragmentary condition; by Utnapishtim, end of X, col. iv, entirely lost. A fragment, 34193, Thompson [d], Pl. 42 belongs to one of these three interviews and is longer than the one between Ursanapi and Gilgamish. Following Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 56, I place it with the interview between Siduri and Gilgamish if there is space for it at the end of Tablet X, col. i.

17. *a-dur-ma mu-ta ap-la-aḫ a-rap-pu-ud ṣîra.* Restored from Tablet X, col. iii. 25; v. 17; ii. 7, *a-du-ur?*

18. See Langdon [e], pp. 210–2.

19. C. F. Fossey, *Journal Asiatique*, 1922, pp. 27–9, thinks that it is an expression for "sailors." From the passages in which it occurs *šu-ut abnê* must refer to attendants of Ursanapi, and persons who were hostile to Gilgamish. See Tablet X, col. ii. 35, where they are referred to as *aš* [*ṭu*]-*ti?*; also col. ii. 38, and note 23.

20. Either a translation or an epithet of *šu-ut abnê*.

21. See p. 212.

22. The Assyrian version, which gives two successive addresses of Ursanapi, X, col. ii. 39–50; iii. 1–7, has interpolated the second address from the Siduri episode. Also Gilgamish's reply, iii. 8–31, is consequently interpolated.

23. i.e., the *šu-ut abnê*. See also p. 213.

24. About one hundred feet.

25. Probably a kind of ship.

26. *qablu*, girdle, = *šibbu*, *RA* vi. 131, *AO* 3555, rev. 14; cf. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 168, rev. ii. 12.

27. *karû* = *kâru*, and *u-sak-*[*šid elippa*??]. Cf. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 196, rev. ii. 58.

28. See pp. 211 (Siduri); 214 (Ursanapi).

29. See pp. 212 (to Siduri); 214 (to Ursanapi).

30. *lullû-amēlu e-dil;* see Langdon [c], p. 95 n. 3; [e] p. 36, l. 9.

31. The text first published by Paul Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, and by Thompson [d], Plates 34–43.

32. On the Sargon and Nur-Dagan myth see *CAH* i. 406; E. F. Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien, Boghazköi-studien*, Heft 6, pp. 57–99.

33. The lines of the Flood myth are numbered after the text in Thompson [d], Plates 44–54.

34. A parallel text, H. V. Hilprecht, *Earliest Version of the Flood Story*, p. 48, l. 9 has, "With a strong covering cover it."

35. The *sar* is 3600, and pitch is regularly measured by the *gur* or

about fifty-two gallons. The scribe does not say what measure is meant. If the *gur* is intended, the amount would be 1,123,200 gallons!

36. East of the Tigris, near the Lower Zab river and in the latitude of the Assyrian capital Ashur.

37. See pp. 139–40.

38. *ammaki*, "Instead of," is proved by *RA* xviii. 167, ll. 21 ff.

39. V. Scheil, *RA* xxiii. 42, rev. 3–5.

40. Aelian. *Nat. Animal.*, vi. 51; G. Kaibel, *Comicōrum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 150, fragment 9 of Dinolochus. References and translation by J. U. Powell.

41. Mr. Powell, who called my attention to all these passages in Greek authors, gave me a literal translation of Nicander, *Theriaca*, 343–358; he cites also A. C. Pearson, *Sophocles' Fragments*, ii. 31 ff. I have given only a shortened account, taken from Powell's translation.

42. A fragment of an old Babylonian version from Nippur, by H. V. Hilprecht; see note 34; another from an Assyrian version, Paul Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrod Epos*, p. 131. For literature see Gressmann, pp. 199–200.

43. See p. 37.

44. There is general agreement in assigning the following verses of Genesis to the old Yawistic account. Minor details are omitted here. Chapter vi. 5–8 + vii. 1–5 + 12 + 17^b + 22–3 + viii. 6–13 + 20–22. For details see J. Skinner, *Genesis*, pp. 150–158; G. R. Driver, *Genesis*,[12] pp. 65–108.

45. If this statement be correct, then Genesis vii. 7–10 must be from the hand of a redactor, but based on the so-called P source. These verses are entirely omitted in my discussion. Verse 10 if taken from P would prove that this source also contained the period of seven days between the warning and the coming of the Flood.

46. See p. 204.

47. See p. 134.

48. The meaning "rainbow" assigned to *antiranna* and *marratu* by many scholars is false.

Chapter VII

1. This was my view, *OECT* ii. 12, n. 3.

2. They are all from Nippur, and three of them are discussed in *PBS* x. 124–5. A duplicate of my text, *ibid.*, No. 5, is published by Chiera, No. 38. Chiera has also found another text, *ibid.*, No. 39, which is similar to my text, *BE* xxxi. No. 55, and proves that also H. Radau, *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts*, No. 12, belongs to this epic. It is now clear that the Sumerian original was an extensive composition.

3. See *BE* xxxi. No. 55, ll. 6–7, and Chiera, *ibid.*, No. 39, ll. 2–3. For seals which shew Gilgamish slaying a winged monster, see Delaporte [b], Pl. 8, T. 51; T. 74.

4. See p. 102.

5. For Tammuz with Gilgamish, see *PBS* x. part 2, No. 16, rev. ii. 14–15; *RA* xiii, 113 III, 2.

6. P. Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, No. 53 and E. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 227, obv. ii, 7 ff.

7. See C. F. Fossey, *Bab.* v. 16, l. 145; Ebeling, *KAR* No. 434, l. 5.

8. Langdon [b], p. 20.

9. See Weidner [c], p. 86 and Ebeling, *KAR* No. 227, obv. ii. 46.

10. See *PBS* x. 178, n. 2.

11. Deimel, ii. No. 69, viii. 12.

12. See p. 192.

13. A seal of the same period from Kish, *JRAS* 1930, Pl. xi. No. 2.

14. See p. 29.

15. See Landsberger, i. 325.

16. Poetical phrase for "Erech of the wide public squares."

17. This is now clear from R. C. Thompson's new edition of the Epic, see *ibid.*, p. 9, n. 6. For the mythological character of this ancient goddess, see S. Langdon, *BE* xxxi. 14, n. 1.

18. S. Langdon, *PBS* x. 212, ll. 17–23.

19. *ibid.*, ll. 24–36.

20. Genesis xxxii. 25–33.

21. V. Scheil, in *RA* xiii. 6.

22. Hosea xii. 4–5.

23. See Delaporte [a], No. 251; Ward [a], No. 461. On Delaporte, [c], Pl. 70, No. 11, Gilgamish, here represented with horned headdress, seizes Enkidu by the tail. A curious seal, J. Menant, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux . . . de la Haye*, Pl. i. No. 5, may represent at least two different scenes of this episode. Here Enkidu has no bull parts, but the tail is preserved on the central scene.

24. M. Jastrow and A. T. Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamish Epic*, col. iii.

25. Jastrow-Clay, *ibid.*, ll. 249–275.

26. At this point I follow an order differing from Thompson [d], Pls. 14–19. I take K. 8586 and S. 1040 to belong to Tablet IV, and S. 2132 + K. 3588 to belong to Tablet V.

27. *KUB* iv. No. 12. Copy by E. F. Weidner. Translations by A. Ungnad, E. Ebeling, and R. C. Thompson. For literature, see Thompson [d], p. 79.

28. If K. 8586 is Tablet IV, obv. ii, and S. 1040, obv. iii, there is a gap in the text of nearly one hundred lines, until the narrative can be followed toward the end of rev. ii. = K. 8591, Pl. 15 in Thompson [d].

29. The order of the narrative here depends upon the assumption that S. 2132 and K. 3588 belong to the fifth tablet.

30. Edited by J. Friedrich, *ZA* xxix. 6–15. The following account and translations depend entirely upon this edition.

31. See p. 248.

32. See Combabus in Index.

33. E. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 57, rev. i 18; T. G. Pinches, *PSBA* 1909, p. 62, l. 21; *KAR* No. 357, l. 39.

34. Sidney Smith, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool), xi. No. 3.

35. See C. F. Fossey, *Bab.* v. 8, l. 74; 54, l. 55; 139, l. 25.

36. Sidney Smith, *JRAS*, 1926, p. 440. On Humbaba see also F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xxii. 23–6.

37. See p. 37.

38. So in R. C. Thompson's new arrangement of the lines.

39. J. Friedrich, *ZA* xxxix. 16–21.

40. Read *i-nuš*, not *i-pul*.

41. Incorporated into Gilgamish's replies to Siduri, Ursanapi, and Utnapishtim. See p. 212.

42. See p. 259, ll. 39–48.

43. K. 8281, in Thompson [d], Pl. 33, left side. Possible continuation, after a break, of K. 8564, col. iii, followed by K. 8564, right side = col. iv?

44. See pp. 209–27.

45. See pp. 209–10.

46. That is to steady one end of the bow on the ground, the attitude of an archer in shooting with arrows.

47. See E. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 92, rev. 21.

48. A. Ungnad, *Gilgamisch-Epos und Odyssee*, p. 31; article "Kalypso" in Pauly and Wissowa, signed [Lamer].

49. P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamos-Epos*, Erster Band, *Die Ursprünge der Alt-Testamentlichen Patriarchen, Propheten und Befreien Sagen und der Neu-Testamentlichen Jesu-Sagen*, Strassburg, 1906; Zweiter Band, *Die Israelitischen Gilgamish-Sagen in der Weltliteratur, mit Ergänzungsheft, worin unter anderm vier Kapitel über die Paulus-Sage*, Marburg, 1928. Heft i. pp. 1–1030; Heft ii. pp. 1–730.

Chapter VIII

1. Two editions are known, the early Babylonian, written in the time of Ammizaduga, and the Assyrian edition of the seventh century. Tablet II of the old Babylonian text was first published by V. Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes*

et assyriennes. xx. 55 ff. New copy by A. T. Clay, *A Hebrew Deluge Story*, No. 1. Tablet II. This tablet probably had three columns on each side, like the edition of the Epic of Gilgamish. Tablet III of the old edition is published by Langdon [e], Pl. x. Tablet I of the Assyrian version is published in *CT* xv. Pl. 49. There is no complete critical edition of these fragments. *CT* xv. 49 is edited by P. Jensen, *KB* vi. 274–287, and old version, Tablet II, *ibid.*, 288–291. Dhorme [a], pp. 128–139; 120–125. A. T. Clay, *ibid.*, pp. 58–69.

2. References to the columns follow *CT* xv. 49 (here).

3. That is, looked enviously at the weighing scales, as they purchased food.

4. It is not possible to regard Bu. 91–5–9, 269 in Langdon [e], Pl. x as part of Clay, *ibid.*, No. 1. If this were so then the account of Mami's creation of man would come before the story of the Flood is finished, in the old edition.

5. Form of Atarhasis in the old Accadian texts.

6. Text D. T. 42, in P. Haupt, *Nimrod Epos*, p. 131. Literature in P. Jensen, *KB* vi. p. 254; Dhorme [a], p. 126.

7. See p. 112.

Chapter IX

1. See Fig. 55 and Otto Weber. *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, pp. 85–6.

2. See the design of Hydra on a late astronomical tablet from Warka. E. F. Weidner, *AOF* iv. Pl. v. No. 2. The resemblance to the customary style of drawing this monster is unmistakable. It occurs much earlier on a monument of Merodachbaladan, King, L. W. [b], Pl. xlii.

3. The excavations at Babylon yielded almost no engraved seals. See Koldewey, p. 262. One of these represents Marduk with four wings, and holding two (natural) lions by their hind legs.

4. See also Delaporte [c], Pl. 86, Nos. 13–14; W. H. Ward, *Cylinders in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection*, No. 152.

5. Delaporte [a], No. 333; Weber, *ibid.*, Nos. 307, 308; Delaporte [c], Pl. 87, Nos. 4, 7–9.

6. Weber, *ibid.*, Nos. 301, 302, 303, 304, 305; W. H. Ward, *Cylinders in the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection*, Nos. 150, 155.

7. Delaporte [c], Pl. 86, No. 18; Pl. 87, No. 2.

8. *Assyrian Sculptures*, Kleinmann, Pls. 83–4. Ward, p. 197.

9. See also Ward, Nos. 583–585; Delaporte [c], Pl. 86, No. 17; [a], 321; 331.

10. As for example, Delaporte [a], 318.

11. J. Menant, *Cylindres Orientaux de la Haye*, No. 32.
12. Delaporte [c], Pl. 89, No. 17.
13. Delaporte [a], 319.
14. *RA* vi. 95; stela of Gudea. W. H. Ward, *ibid.*, No. 368 d.
15. See Langdon [h], 118, n. 7.
16. E. Unger in *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, viii. Tafel 63A, and A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der Altorientalischen Geisteskultur*,[2] p. 351. See Unger, *ibid.*, p. 213.
17. It is probable that *CT* xvi. 19, 21 should be read ug-gà = [*la-*]*ab-bu*.
18. Probable meaning of lines 19–22 in S. Geller, *ATU* i. 278.
19. See *AJSL* xlii. 116, l. 22; 121, l. 10; 122, l. 9.
20. The text of the Labbu myth is published by L. W. King, *CT* xv. Pls. 33–4. Edited by P. Jensen, *KB* vi. 44–7; F. Hrozný, *Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag*, pp. 106–114; E. Ebeling, in Gressmann, pp. 138–9, with other literature by H. Zimmern, L. W. King, and A. Ungnad.
21. The literature on this epic is great, but only two editions take account of the complete material, E. Ebeling, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungslied* (1921) and Langdon [a] (1923). A new translation by Ebeling, in Gressmann, pp. 108–129. New fragments of Tablets I and VI were published in Langdon [i] (1927), pp. 88–101.
22. Langdon [i], p. 28.
23. *CT* xvii. 42, 15–25, written *laḫmi*.
24. A new variant, Thompson [d], Pl. 29, Rm. 504, has "god Ea," for "he"; but Langdon [i], 90, 68, has "and that one uttered a cry of pain," referring to Apsû.
25. See p. 68.
26. See p. 282.
27. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xvi. 144–156.
28. *JRAS* 1925, p. 493, ll. 14–15.
29. See pp. 133–4.
30. There is no word *ruqqû* in Accadian meaning "to make secure," suggesting an idea of solidity as the root meaning, and if my reading of line 139 of Tablet IV of the epic, *maš-ku* "skin," is right, the Hebrew word must correspond to it, conveying the meaning of something spread out or hammered out thin. There is an Accadian word *ruqqû* meaning "copper bowl."
31. For a new proof that Libra was the "house" of Saturn, see *JRAS*, 1925, Pl. ii. l. 32. On the whole subject see Langdon [a], pp. 149–151.
32. See Langdon [a], pp. 152–3, on the theories of Weidner, Kugler, Lindl, and Fotheringham.
33. The theory has been elaborately defended by A. Jeremias, and

his colleague Hugo Winckler, who is now dead. See A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der Altorientalischen Geisteskultur*,[2] p. 25. This writer attributes the origin of these ideas to the Sumerians, which is a risky statement. The philosophical theory that the reality of all things is the conceptions of them, first conceived by the gods, is Sumerian, but whether they held the late Babylonian theories, that things on earth also exist in Heaven as their prototypes, is not proved.

34. F. Thureau-Dangin [c], p. 136, l. 274.

35. See note 2.

36. See Kugler, *Ergänzungen*, p. 221; A. Jeremias, *ibid.*, 227.

37. Weidner [c], p. 70, 12.

38. The astral explanation of the seal was made by Th. Dombart, *JSOR* xiv. 1–10. Cf. *AOF* v. 225.

39. Line 115 of Tablet VI has *Ligir*, as *CT* xxv. 34 II 12; xxiv. 27, 27.

40. *CT* xiii. 35–38. Editions by Jensen, Dhorme, King, Zimmern, Ungnad, cited by E. Ebeling, in Gressmann, p. 130. Small duplicate by Zimmern, in *ZA* xxviii. 101. The Accadian (Neo-Babylonian) text is provided with a Sumerian translation.

41. E. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 4; edited by Ebeling, *ZDMG* lxx. 532 ff., and Langdon [e], pp. 40–57. Translated by Ebeling, in Gressmann, pp. 134–6.

42. See pp. 190–3.

43. Genesis ii. 4^{b}–25.

44. The text containing the directions for the ceremonies of the Akitu or Zagmuk festival at Babylon is edited by F. Thureau-Dangin [i], pp. 127–146. It is discussed in Langdon [a], pp. 20–28. The ritual and commentaries on the mystery plays form the subject of a large volume by S. A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akîtu Festival*, Copenhagen, 1926.

45. For the evidence, see Langdon [a], 27; *Museum Journal*, 1923, p. 275, l. 76; *CT* xxxvii. pl. 10, l. 9.

46. Read *iprik*. See E. F. Weidner, *Handbuch*, p. 76; *CT* xxxiii. pl. 8, l. 32.

47. See p. 140.

48. The Ashur fragments are published by E. Ebeling, *KAR* Nos. 143; 219; 307. The Ninevite fragments are published in Langdon [a], pp. 212–13; to K. 9138, K. 6330 has now been joined, and a new fragment, K. 6359, has been identified by Mr. Gadd. See *JRAS*, 1930, Oct. Number.

49. See p. 52.

Chapter X

1. In *PSBA*, 1916, pp. 55–7, I identified one tablet (A. Poebel, *PBS* v. 23) of this series which contains that part of the myth where Ishtar descends through the first three gates. I did not then discover that my own text, *BE* xxxi. No. 33, belongs to this series and probably contains the entire story in four columns. Chiera, in his *Sumerian Religious Texts*, vol. i, republished my text, Constantinople Nippur Collection, No. 368, with the aid of duplicates in Philadelphia, Nos. 13908, 13932 and 12638 + 12702 + 12752. A tablet in Philadelphia, 9800, joins my text, *BE* xxxi. No. 33, and completes it. None of this new material is published by Chiera, who gives only a new copy of my text as No. 53 of his *Sumerian Religious Texts*. See *ibid.*, pp. 37–9. The end of the legend is contained in A. Poebel, *PBS* v. No. 22, of which there is an unpublished duplicate at Yale, No. 4621. All of this new material discovered by Professor Chiera is still inaccessible and consequently the information contained in this chapter must be considered inadequate.

2. See Langdon [h], p. 26. The passage under discussion is *nam-en mu-um-šub*, *BE* xxxi, No. 34, l. 6.

3. An obscure passage. Tammuz is referred to. Cf. Ningishzida (= Tammuz) the *guzallu* of the lower world, iv. Raw. 21* A 16.

4. See *PSBA*, 1916, pp. 55–7.

5. Here Chiera, i. No. 53, rev. i. 1–4 = *BE* xxxi. 33, rev. i. 1.

6. A. Poebel, *PBS*, No. 22.

7. The text is published by L. W. King, *CT* xv. Pls. 45–48, and a duplicate by Ebeling, *KAR*, No. 1. There are many translations, the most recent being that by E. Ebeling, in Gressmann, pp. 206–210, where the literature is given. An English translation will be found in R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, pp. 121–131. The annotated editions are by P. Jensen and P. Dhorme.

8. See pp. 259, 265–6.

9. *CT* xvii. Pl. 37, 1–6.

10. The poet explains the meaning of this line in lines 32–3 below.

11. The same influence was attributed to Aphrodite in Greek mythology. P. Dhorme [a], p. 334, note 77, compares a passage in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, ll. 72–4, which reads (referring to wild animals which followed Aphrodite), "she seeing them rejoiced in her heart and sent desire into their breasts; and they all lay down two by two in shadowy dells." Text by T. W. Allen and E. E. Sykes (1904).

12. Variant, "I decree thee a fate not to be forgotten. Lo I decree thee a fate not to be forgotten forever."

13. Poebel, *PBS* v. 22, lines 14–15, has, "When Innini from the lower world ascended, her ransom she gave."

14. See *Bab.* vi. 199–215.

Chapter XI

1. Ezekiel's vision in chapter viii is dated in the Massoretic text in 591 B.C., on the fifth day of the sixth month, that is Elul, August–September. The Septuagint has the fifth month, or Ab, July–August. But this is no evidence for the date of the Tammuz wailings. See Baudissin, p. 109.

2. See Langdon [a], p. 43, l. 43, "the blood of the body"; "he was slain," p. 43, l. 47; "he was seized," p. 45, l. 51; "they caused him to be felled," p. 47, l. 62.

3. Langdon [g], p. 308, ll. 5–12; p. 274, l. 1; *P. Haupt Anniversary Volume*, p. 171, l. 7, p. 173, l. 15. For *šudu, šuda = kaṭilu*, "slayer," see *CT* xix. 17, B 18.

4. See *RA* xii. 42.

5. The best article on St. George, which includes the discovery of his tomb by the English army in 1917, is by H. Leclercq, "Georges (Saint)," *Dictionaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*. None of the articles on St. George make any reference to the numerous Arabic sources concerning the St. George legends.

6. Von Gutschmidt in *ZDMG* xv. 64, on Ibn Wahshijja's work on *Nabataean Agriculture*.

7. Mas'udi tenth century A.D. See Von Gutschmidt, *ibid.*

8. In Book iii of the *Annals*, edited by J. de Goeje. A French translation from the Persian translation will be found in H. Zottenberg, *Chronique de Abu Djafar Tabarî*, ii. 54–66. See also the article on "Djirdjîs," in *Dictionary of Islam*.

9. See A. Chwolson, *Über Tammuz und die Menschen Verehrung*, pp. 50–56.

10. Baudissin, p. 74, after H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Semitiques*.

11. From Pseudo-Mileto, third century A.D., ed. Cureton. See also E. Renan, *Memoires de l'Institut*, xxiii. part 2, pp. 319 ff., and Baudissin, p. 74.

12. Never with divine prefix in Cuneiform texts, which excludes the reading of the name on a seal ^{d}X-*a-du-ni* as ^{d}A-*du-ni-AM*, as argued by G. Dossin, *RA* xxvii. 92.

13. See S. Langdon, *RA* xxvii. 24, and the title used for a deity at Nerib near Harran in the Cassite period, *ibid.*, p. 88.

14. See p. 322.

15. In the Syriac work, "Treasure Cave," edited by C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle syrish und deutsch*, Leipzig, 1883–88, p. 37. See also Baudissin, p. 116.

16. On this whole subject of the influence of the Tammuz-Ishtar cult upon the origins of Christianity, see H. Zimmern, *Bēlti (Bēltija, Bēletja) eine, zunächst Sprachliche, Studie zur Vorgeschichte der Madonnakults*, Paul Haupt Anniversary Volume, pp. 281–292.

17. Eusebius, quoting Philo of Byblus, Book i. chap. 10.

18. Here undoubtedly Marduk, *ZA* vi. 243, l. 35, as in Langdon [a], p. 202, l. 83, and A. Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 84, l. 13.

19. *CT* xxviii, Pl. 44, K. 717, ll. 4 and 9. Read probably *ana irṣiti inissi.*

20. *mu-dam-*[*mi-iḳ amāti-ia*], P. Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, No. 17, l. 1.

21. Langdon [b], No. 143.

22. Langdon, *PBS* x. 287–8.

23. E. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 357, ll. 33–37 and *MVAG*, 1918, 2, p. 9.

24. See p. 132.

25. See p. 322.

26. The text has ^{d}*Ur-LU*. In any case the first king of the last dynasty of Ur is intended.

27. Idin-Ishtar is the name of some unknown ruler, probably of the city where the liturgy was written.

28. H. de Genouillac, *Textes Sumeriens Religieux*, *AO* 5374, ll. 191–209.

29. This is a poetic description of the land of the dead. The "chariot" probably refers to the chariots found in the tombs of early Sumerian kings at Kish and Ur. These were placed beside the dead in the belief that the kings would be able to use them in Aralû.

30. Extracts from H. Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder*, No. 26, rev. ii-iii.

31. Deimel, iii. No. 1, obv. i. l. 2; rev. ii. l. 5.

32. Identical with ^{d}*A-tu-ud*, and ^{d}*A-tu-tu*(*r*), sister of Lillu, a title of Tammuz, *RA* xix. 178, l. 11; 181, n. 2. Probably for ^{d}*NIN*(*e*)-*tud*, the Mother-goddess, who is both mother and sister of Tammuz.

33. Or better Usudsud, "the far away." See Var., *TC* xv. Pl. 9, l. 65.

34. H. de Genouillac, *TC* xv. Pl. x. ll. 77–92.

35. H. de Genouillac, *TC* xv. Pl. 12, ll. 118–123.

36. *CT* xv. 26, 22–27, 24 with variant, *ibid.*, 30, obv. 1 to rev. 25. A similar passage in *TC* xv. Pl. 12, ll. 118–140.

37. Text in Rawlinson, iv. Pl. 30, No. 2, with duplicate in G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, No. 37.

38. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis Attis and Osiris*, p. 194.

39. Selections from Langdon [b], pp. 99–103.

40. *CT* xv. Pl. 14 and see Langdon [g], pp. 272–5.

Chapter XII

1. General works on this subject to be consulted are W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London, 1901; R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908; Edmond Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord*, Algiers, 1908.

2. See the article "Demons and Spirits (Jewish)" in *ERE* by H. Loewe, and J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia 1913, especially Montgomery's references to the literature, p. 74, n. 35.

3. See Luke xi. 14–20.

4. Matthew iv. 1–11; Mark i. 12–13; Luke iv. 1–13.

5. See Charles Singer, *From Magic to Science*, London, 1928.

6. Wellhausen, pp. 148–159.

7. For charms and talismans used in Islamic religion against the demons, see H. A. Winckler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der Muhammedanischen Zauberei*, Heft vii. of Beihefte of *Der Islam*, Berlin, 1930. D. S. Margoliouth, *Arabic Documents from the Monneret Collection*, *Islamica*, iv. 249–271.

8. Edited by L. S. A. Wells in Charles, ii. 137.

9. See Langdon [g], p. 154, 36.

10. "The Scape-goat in Babylonian Religion," S. Langdon in *Expository Times*, xxiv. 9–15.

11. *CT* xvi. 35, 30–4, restored from Collection of J. B. Nies, ii. No. 22, 115–8.

12. *CT* xvi. 10, 21–4 = 12, 51–2.

13. *CT* xvi. 27, 18.

14. Thompson [e], pp. 68–76; S. Lane-Poole, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, pp. 35–6.

15. Yast ix. 34 in W. Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, xxiii. 61–2 (translated by J. Darmesteter). W. Bousset's statement in *Die Religion des Judentums im N. T. Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1902), p. 464, regarding a myth of the union of *daevas* and *drujas* is both philologically and materially false.

16. *CT* xvi. 121, 1–23.

17. *ibid.*, 15, iv. 60–v. 17.

18. *CT* xvi. 14 B 8–38.

19. *KAR* No. 88, Frag. 5, 2.

20. Charles, ii. 485.

21. P. Haupt, *ASKT* 90, 60–63; *CT* xvii. Pl. 34, 15–20; Rawlinson, iv. Pl. 29, B 23–30; *CT* xvi. Pl. 31, 97–99; *CT* xvi. Pl. 5, 195–197. The list, *KAR* 227, rev. III, 34–6 omits the *gallû* and wicked god. Often the lists contain only the first five, *CT* xvi. Pl. 1,

12; Pl. 14, Col. III, 27; Rawlinson, v. Pl. 50, ii. 17–19; *CT* xvi. 17, K. 4947 + K. 4988.

22. Rawlinson, v. Pl. 50, A, 41–62.

23. Isaiah xxxiv. 14.

24. M. Gaster, "Two Thousand Years of Charm against a Child Stealing Witch," *Folk-Lore*, xi. 129–62. See also Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–3.

25. J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, No. 42. See M. Schwab, *PSBA* xii. 300 ff. On Lilû, in Jewish mythology represented by Asmodeus, and Lilith, see Thompson [e], pp. 65–80. S. Langdon, *Babyloniaca*, iv. 187–191.

26. Rawlinson, iv. Pl. 29, No. 2.

27. Gudea statue B. iii. 15; Cylinder B ii. 9.

28. F. Perles in *Babyloniaca*, vi. 235.

29. R. C. Thompson, *JRAS* (1929), pp. 801–823.

30. *CT* xvi. Pl. 1, 28–Pl. 2, 56.

31. M. Gaster, *Folk-Lore*, xi. 129; J. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, No. 42, l. 10.

32. See Hesychius under Γελλω; Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae Linguae;* Zenobius, iii. 3.

33. Fritz Pradel, *Griechische Gebete, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche*, iii. Heft 3 (1907), pp. 23 and 91. On Gellô of the Christian Greek demonology see C. du F. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, sub Γελλω. L. Allacci, *De Templis Graecōrum* (1645), pp. 116 f.

34. The reading *Lamaštu* formerly read *Labartu* was established by ^{d}*La-ma-aš-tum*, Ungnad, in *ZA* xxxvi. 108, and by a Bodleian Tablet with *NPr La-ma-za-tum-KI*, Var. *La-maš-tum-KI*. The Sumerian reading *Lam-me* usually read *Dim-me* may be defended by, (a) *la-am-ma* = *lamassu*, the animal genius; (b) the phonetic change *d* > *l* (very common); and (c) the Greek *Lamia*, which seems to have been borrowed along with Gellô.

35. *PBS* i^{2}. No. 113, duplicate of Rawlinson, iv. Pls. 56 and 58.

36. The Assyrian edition of these thirteen incantations is edited by D. W. Myhrman, *ZA* xvi. 154–200. The third tablet of the series containing the rituals has not been recovered in the early edition, but the colophon of the Tablet of the early editions (see note 35) of the thirteen incantations states that the series is incomplete. It clearly contained the matter preserved in Rawlinson, iv. Pl. 55 = Myhrman, pp. 184–195.

37. Duplicates are *RA* xviii. 198; F. Weissbach, *Bab. Miscellen*, p. 42. A duplicate of incantation five is Ebeling, *KAR*, 239, Cols. i–ii.

38. *CT* xvii. Pl. 13, 21 ff.; *RA* xviii. 165, ll. 16–24.

39. From the Berlin Museum, *VA* 3477, published by Friedrich Delitzsch, *Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Königl.-Preusz. Kunstsammlung*, 1908, p. 75; also in 1921, by F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xviii. Pl. I, No. 3, with description by L. Delaporte, p. 179, No. vi.

40. Ebeling, *KAR* No. 71, ll. 5–6.

41. *ZA* xvi. 178, ll. 6–11; P. Haupt, *ASKT* p. 94, ll. 59–68; on an amulet, *RA* xviii. 195. In this text *šumundu* = *kātilu*, "slayer."

42. For a description of Fig. 44 by L. Delaporte, see *RA* xviii. 172–4.

43. Read *ezzit šamrat* (= UL) *namurrat u ši-i barbarat*, etc., IV Raw. Pl. 55 rev. 1 = *RA* xviii. 166, l. 13; *PBS*. i². 113, l. 12; *ZA* xvi. 156, l. 39.

44. *ZA* xvi. 174, ll. 25–52; cf *RA* xviii. 13–29.

45. *mu'ammelat*, from *emēlu*, to suckle, Hebrew *ʿ-w-l*. See *nîmil*, Langdon [a], p. 40, l. 33.

46. *naṣāṣu* = *naṣû?*

47. *ZA* xvi. 180, ll. 29–43; *PBS* i². rev. ll. 15–27.

48. Translation by F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xviii. 197, restored from Ebeling, *KAR* No. 76, 1–8 + No. 88, p. 156, below, 14 ff.

49. A. H. Sayce, *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, iii. 17 f. Text in Frank [a], p. 88, with corrections by Zimmern, *OLZ* 1917, pp. 102–5; F. Layard, *Culte de Venus* (Paris, 1837–49), Pl. xvii, and *AKF* iii. 56.

50. The three other winged figures of Pazuzu in the round, are one in the Louvre, Frank [a], p. 80, described in *RA* xviii. 189, with inscription, p. 190; one in the British Museum, L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion*, London (1899), p. 43; another in the Louvre, Thureau-Dangin, *RA* xviii. 191. See also *JRAS* 1926, Pl. xi. No. 7, from Ur.

51. *RA* xviii. 192.

52. Frank [a], p. 82, note; p. 83 note. The two heads are published by King, *ibid.*, p. 189 and Thompson [a], i. Pl. ii. 91875.

53. C. Frank. *RA* vii. 24. Text *li-li-ḪI!* A complete list of heads of Pazuzu, in *RA* xviii. 192–3.

54. *RA* xviii. Pl. i. No. 1. On the Constantinople amulet, Frank [a], Pl. iii, there are only six devils — panther, dog, bird, lion, serpent, ram.

55. *CT* xvi. 19, ll. 1–28.

56. See W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 326–336.

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I. ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW . . .	Abhandlung der könig. Akad. der Wissenschaft (Berlin).
AO	Der Alte Orient (Leipzig).
ADD . . .	Assyrian Deeds and Documents (C. H. W. Johns).
AOF	Altorientalische Forschungen (Hugo Winckler).
AJSL . . .	American Journal of Semitic Languages.
AKF	Archiv für Keilinschrift Forschung (Edited by E. Weidner. Berlin, 1923 f.).
APN	Assyrian Personal Names (K. Tallquist).
ATU . . .	Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen (Edited by B. Meissner. Leiden, 1916, Breslau, 1920).
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie (Edited by F. Delitzsch und P. Haupt. Leipzig, 1890).
Bab	Babyloniaca.
BEFAR . .	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et Rome.
BSGW . . .	Berichte der könig. Sachs. Gesellschaft.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History.
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
CIWA . . .	Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia (Edited by H. C. Rawlinson).
CRAI . . .	Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
CT	Cuneiform Texts (British Museum).
DA	Documents assyriens (A Boissier).
DP	Documents présargoniques (A. de la Fuÿe).
DWAW . .	Denkschriften der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaft zu Wien.
EBi	Encyclopædia Biblica.
ERE	Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.
ET	Expository Times.
GJ	Geographical Journal.
JDAI . . .	Jahrbuch des Kais. Deut. Arch. Inst.
JAOS . . .	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS . . .	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JSOR . . .	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research (Edited by S. A. B. Mercer).

KAJI . . .	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur. Juristischen Inhalts (Leipzig, 1927).
KAR	Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur. Religiösen Inhalts (E. Ebeling. Leipzig, 1919 f.).
KAT^3 . . .	Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament (H. Zimmern and H. Winckler. Berlin, 1902–3).
KAV	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur. Verschiedenen Inhalts (O. Schroeder).
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Edited by E. Schrader).
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.
KUB . . .	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.
LXX	Septuagint.
MAIBL . .	Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
Maḳlû (*Maqlû*)	Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû (K. L. Tallquist. Helsingfors, 1919).
MJ	Museum Journal (Philadelphia).
MDOG . . .	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft.
MVAG . . .	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
NAMS . . .	Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques.
NPr	Nomen proprium.
NPra	Nomina propria.
NSI	North Semitic Inscriptions (G. A. Cooke).
OECT . . .	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts (Edited by S. Langdon. Oxford, 1923 f.).
OLZ	Orientalische Litteraturzeitung.
OT	Old Testament.
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum. Philadelphia.
PSBA . . .	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
RA	Revue de l'Assyriologie.
RArch . . .	Revue archéologique.
RB	Revue biblique.
REJ	Revue des études juives.
RES	Répertoire d'épigraphic sémitique (J. B. Chabot).
RS	Revue sémitique (Edited by J. Halevy).
RV	Revised Version.
SBH	Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen (G. Reisner).
Shurpu . . .	Die Beschwörungstafeln Surpu (H. Zimmern. Leipzig, 1901).
Syria	La revue Syria (Edited by R. Dussaud. Paris).
SO	Studia Orientalia (Edited by A. Deimel).
TC	Textes cunéiformes (Musée du Louvre, Paris).
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek (Edited by H. Winckler and A. A. Jeremias. Leipzig).

VS . . . . . Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler (Leipzig).
YOS . . . . Yale Oriental Series (Edited by A. T. Clay. Yale).
ZA . . . . Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZATW . . . Zeitschrift für Altest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG . . . Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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vii, viii, xii, xiii. *Recherches archéologiques*. Ser. 2 to 5 (de Morgan, E. Pottier).
xvi. *Empreintes de cachets élamites* (L. Legrain).
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^{d}*Ullû*. The Hittite and Harri texts of the Gilgamish Epic have "god *Ullu-uš*" for Utnapishtim, Vars. *Ul lu-ya*, *U-ul-lu*, E. F. Weidner, AKF. i, 92; Friedrich, ZA. xxxix, 29, iv, 5, 28, 7 etc., 65, n. 1; B. Gemser, AKF. iii, 183–5, B. Hrozný, *Archiv Orientální*, i, 338. This is Accadian *ullû*, "the far away." Gemser and Hrozný derive Odysseus, Olysseus, Ulixes, from *Ullû* + nominative ending *š*.

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